

UNITE!



POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE
Marxist-Leninist
Organizing Committee

8

Vol. 3, No. 1,

February 1977

25¢

Carter's Job Policy Peanuts For The Working Class

On Friday, January 7, faced with a continued deterioration of the U.S. economy, already in terrible shape, Carter unveiled the incoming Administration's economic stimulus and jobs program. The Democratic controlled Congress voiced its approval, and assured Carter that they could have a bill ready for signing by early April. But in spite of the fanfare, and sense of urgency, even the bourgeois press that is paid to drum up

enthusiasm had to ask, "Is that all?" And officers of the Urban League, and NAACP are understandably beginning to worry about being totally exposed. Will there even be peanut shells for the poor?

By almost any standards the job program of Carter is a scrawny one. The major parts of the program are:
-a one shot rebate this spring of \$7 - \$11 billion. (This is

about \$100.00 per working class family, which is less than the increase in taxes due to inflation in just the last year.)

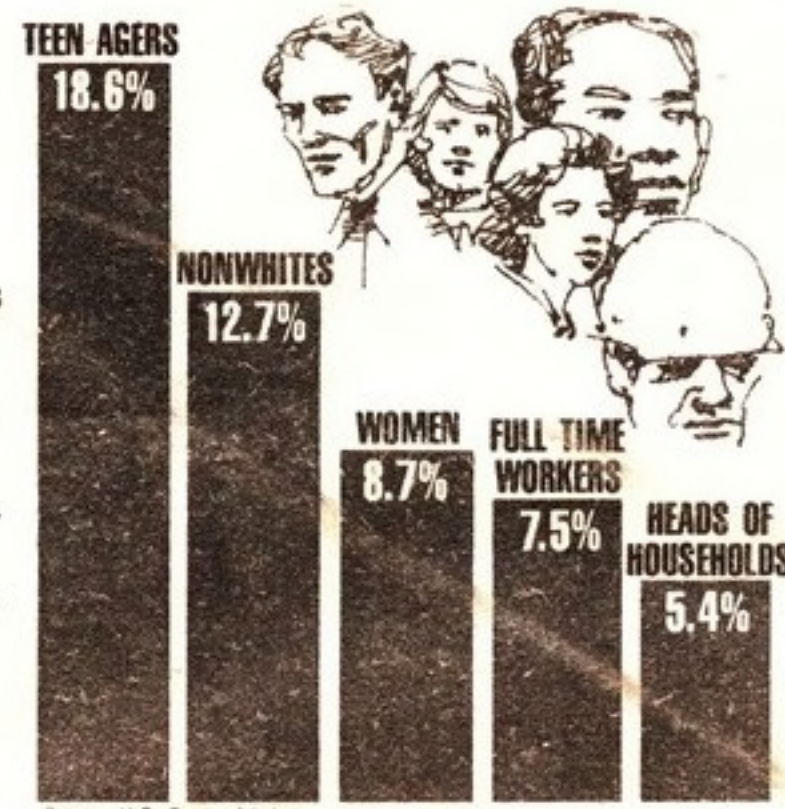
-a \$4 billion cut tied to encouraging the use of the standard deduction.

-a \$2 billion tax break for business.

-a \$2 billion dollar outlay on public jobs and subsidies to business for job training.

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UNEMPLOYMENT



Miller



UMWA elections will be a test for miners

After his bright rise to top leadership of the United Mine Workers, Arnold Miller is now completely exposed before the rank and file of the UMW. The stand taken during last year's wildcat, and the activities at the following UMW convention, have allowed even close supporters of Miller to abandon him, as rats leaving a sinking ship. And most of those around Miller are indeed rats, trade union bureaucrats with aspirations of their own to be captain of this ship.

The UMW is torn into factions over the events of 1976, and the organizing capabilities of the union have been virtually brought to a standstill, thanks to degeneration beyond the level of just being a trade union bureaucrat. His scramble to maintain his position is literally tearing the union down around his head. The union is badly splintered at the leadership level, with Vice-President Trobovich openly supporting an old reactionary Boyle loyalist, Leroy Patterson, in his bid for the Presidency.

While Secretary Treasurer Harry Patrick is openly opposing Miller and will probably soon announce his own candidacy for the presidency of the union, Patrick is already picking up many of the old Miners' for Democracy, who were the basis of Miller's rise to power.

Patterson is also running a fairly strong campaign, based on regrouping the old Boyle people throughout the country into a machine to organize a base at the local level.

Miller's slate, on the other hand is comprised of support from people solely on the basis of their absolute loyalty to Miller, and none of them have strong ties with the rank and file. Vice-Presidential candidate Sam Church is a former Boyle supporter and has been acting as Miller's hatchetman within the union. A staff attorney, and former chief-aid for Miller, had his life threatened and was beaten in his office by Church, for allegedly leaking information to Jack Anderson about Miller's abuse of travel funds. The union which organizes the staff workers who work for the UMW, demanded Church's suspension, but Miller refused to comply. Along with this, the clerical, secretarial and maintenance employees of the UMW have met total resistance in their unionizing efforts and Miller's administration comes close to refusing to even consider their bargaining demands.

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REPORT FROM CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON PARTY BUILDING

Based upon a recent meeting of the Central Committee, on pages 7-10 the MLOC sums up its basic line and plan for party building and issues a major repudiation of a "left" opportunist deviation in the MLOC and Trotskyite trend in the working class movement.

The policies advanced by the Central Committee reflect a Marxist-Leninist summation of the actual conditions of the working class movement today, and are a direct continuation on two fronts of the struggle against opportunism which was begun in the former Black Workers Congress, from

which the MLOC developed in May of 1975.

Further, the MLOC advances a Marxist-Leninist line on party building for the working class and a five-point plan to forge the party which firmly roots the vanguard communist party in its correct relation to the masses and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

TAKE UP THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM ON TWO FRONTS!

PREPARE THE CONDITIONS FOR A VANGUARD COMMUNIST PARTY!

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FROM 1976 TO 1977 -

THE MOVEMENT IS GROWING

1976 was a year of steady struggle and militancy for the working class movement, oppressed nations and minorities. Worldwide, the intensifying struggle against the bourgeois rule in every country, the growing campaign against the two Superpowers and their frantic war preparations, went hand in hand with the national liberation struggle of oppressed people.

At the same time, the progressive people of the world deeply mourn the death of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. Mao Tse-tung Thought has become a beacon of inspiration and guidance for people all over the world. The death of Mao Tse-tung together with the death of outstanding comrades such as Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, and others in many countries, were sad moments in the bright struggle of the people of the world against exploitation and oppression.

In the U.S., the militant workers have become increasingly conscious of the necessity to seize control of the trade unions and drive the labor aristocrats out of the trade union movement. These social props, the reformists, together with the revisionists, strategically are the direction of our main blow. The rising level of struggle against these labor misleaders, particularly in steel and coal, is a very important development in the growing class consciousness of the working class movement.

In the Black Belt and the Southwest, important labor campaigns have been initiated to give the workers their first form of organization - the trade union - which is a pre-condition for mobilizing the workers against the capitalist class.

Militant, nationwide struggle against national oppression and for democratic rights have become a regular feature of the overall struggle of the working class.

Marxist-Leninists, who must actively bring scientific socialism to the working class movement in the course of leading the day to day struggles of the workers against the capitalist class, have made many advances toward the forging of a vanguard communist party. The growing development of active communist agitation and propaganda in the industrial heartland, the Black Belt and the Southwest are extremely important conditions for the building of a genuine communist party. The growing emergence of a genuine ideological center for the working class movement, the development of principled struggle to unite Marxist-Leninists in the course of meeting the objective needs of the working class movement, the development of significant consciousness in terms of our proletarian internationalist duties to all socialist countries, national liberation movements and the proletariat of other countries - these all are important indications that the conditions for a genuine vanguard communist party are being prepared.

Still, significant tasks - such as the drafting of a Marxist-Leninist party program, and others remain to be accomplished.

At the same time, these advances have served to consolidate various opportunist and degenerate elements in the working class movement and expose their reactionary character, such as WVO, PRRWO and RWL. More than ever, the struggle

against opportunism is being carried out on two fronts, and linked to the overall struggle against opportunism.

In 1977, future victories for the working class movement must be guaranteed through a deepening of the struggle to fuse scientific socialism with the working class movement, especially in the basic industries of steel, coal and auto. This will be developed further by the solid establishment of an ideological center for the working class movement, the forging of substantial, mass organizations as levers between the future party and the masses, the creation of a genuine organizing committee and the calling of the first party congress. While these achievements are not just around the corner, we can see their realization as a firm possibility in the coming year. A vanguard communist party must be forged on the basis of firm, tested ideological, political and organizational line - and foremost on the basis of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party program.

1977 holds great promise for the working class movement in the U.S., and around the world. The workers, oppressed people and nations of the world are uniting in common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism. Our clear orientation must be to accomplish all of our immediate tasks, while at the same time never losing sight of our ultimate aim, communism. Chairman Mao once stated, and we must always remember, that Communism, is "the future goal to which our present efforts are directed, if we lose sight of that goal, we cease to be communists. But equally we cease to be communists if we relax our efforts today."

The Klan is a Class Issue

The actions of the Ku Klux Klan historically in the Black Belt South, and recently at Camp Pendleton Marine base, are among the most obvious examples of the brutal oppression of Black people by U.S. imperialism. Almost no one would dare to openly support the KKK today, but the arms of the U.S. government, its military and police, in fact protect and encourage its existence. The KKK must be crushed, and this is a question of overthrowing the bourgeois state that it serves. The incident at Camp Pendleton has helped to expose the sell-out nature of some "concerned" Black groups.

Representative Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, leader of the Black Caucus of the U.S. Congress, has stated that the Ku Klux Klan has the right to organize at Camp Pendleton. According to Burke,

"Anyone has the right to belong to an organization, but not the right to threaten others, or advocate activities that threaten others."

Along the very same liberal lines, Clarence Pendleton, Executive Director of the San Diego Urban League writes,

"The Ku Klux Klan is not the issue, the issue is the safety of our community and its people."

To assure that safety, the Urban League called for a Congressional investigation of "extremist groups activity, be it black or white, at Camp Pendleton in the interest of national security." And as a resolution, the Urban League calls for "working together to help the Marine Corps solve its racial problems."

What is going on here? Because of the anger swelling through the Black communities as they found out the truth about the incident at Camp Pendleton, and in the face of the stone-walling tactic of the Marine press office, the Urban League had little choice but to expose the situation at Camp Pendleton.

However, the Urban League then moved to defuse the rage, to cut the heart out of the issue by reducing it from one that requires a mass struggle and mass resolution, to a question of "helping the Marines with its racial problems."

What about the Black Marines still in custody? Yvonne Burke neatly divided the issue.

"One is a social issue, the other involves individuals charged with a crime."

Whether their assault hit the Ku Klux Klan directly or only indirectly, the courageous action of the Black Marines exposed the service of the Marine Corps to U.S. imperialism in permitting the attacks on Blacks. The multi-national working class must whole-heartedly support the stand of the Black Marines, and intensify the struggle against the capitalist class and its body guards.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE OCTOBER LEAGUE

A mutual confidence must exist between the vanguard communist party and the working class. This confidence is built in the course of the party becoming the guiding leader and teacher of the working class through protracted struggle. Without this mutual confidence, there can be no genuine vanguard party.

Today many claim to carry the flag of Leninism as they prepare to form a party. But the question that workers will and do ask, is, what kind of party? Will it be a party which has earned the confidence of the working class?

This is the question that the working class movement raises squarely to the October League.

February marks one year since the MLOC sought to present its differences with the October League. This polemic summed up common practice, and pointed to numerous serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism by the OL on party building, trade unions, the Black National Question, and other questions facing the working class movement. We pointed to the nature of our differences, and the significance of these differences. We concluded that the line of the OL represented a definite right opportunist trend in the motion of consolidation.

Lastly, we invited the OL to "correct what is incorrect, and to deepen what is correct." We invite the OL to reply to this criticism in a Marxist-Leninist manner, in the spirit of criticism. Many friends and even cadres of the OL remarked that they thought the criticism was presented in an honest and principled manner, even if they had disagreements with it.

This request was repeated to the OL personally and in numerous public meetings.

What has been the response since February, 1976?

The OL concluded that their original plan for party building which neglected the need for a party program and a party congress, required "partial modification."

And the line of the OL on trade unions and the international situation has changed substantially, with no genuine self-criticism.

In the August issue of COMMUNIST LINE #9, TOWARD A PARTY PROGRAM, the MLOC repeated its request for a response to the criticism of February and raised further

(Continued on p. 11)

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UNITE' is the political organ of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee, published monthly.

One year \$7.00
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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE



**Marxist-Leninist
Organizing Committee**

CAN BE REACHED

BY WRITING

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BLACK MARINES FIGHT KLAN & CORPS

On Saturday, November 13, at Camp Pendleton, California, fourteen Black Marines attacked a group of white Marines. Camp Pendleton is part of the heavily militarized zone in and just north of San Diego. It has shared that area's history of tense relations among the nationalities. During World War II, Chicanos, both male and female, were brutally attacked by roving gangs from the military. If reported at all, the assaults were usually dismissed as simply "release of tension" by tense recruits waiting to be shipped overseas. So it was nothing out of the ordinary when the Pendleton Command painted the action of November 13 as an unexplained, unprovoked attack. What was out of the ordinary was its fierceness. And for that, the Blacks were thrown into the brig, and charged with conspiracies and assaults punishable with sentences up to 21 years.

Three weeks later, after it had already been exposed in the press by Black sources, the Marine Command admitted the involvement of the notorious Ku Klux Klan. What the Command had passed off as a senseless, brutal action was in fact an organized assault against the Klan that has through its own actions become the symbol for the lynchings and raping of the people of the Black Nation. Whether the group which the Black Marines attacked was a Klan meeting, included Klan members, or was an innocent beer party, as claimed by the Marine Corps, is not yet clear. But either way, the attack hit its target. According to official Marine Corps releases, a search of the barracks revealed a roster of KKK members.

The search also turned up a 357 magnum, eight night sticks, and one knife all belonging to KKK members. Just how thorough the search was is questionable. For the past several



weeks prior to the attack by the Black Marines there was not only open KKK material on barracks doors, but the KKK strutted around with bowie knives labelled "nigger stick-ers".

In spite of the open slurs, threats, and several earlier beatings of Blacks, Pendleton's commanding officer, Major General Carl Hoffman denied previous knowledge of Klan activity on the base. Confronted with the evidence, he pleaded "a failure in the command chain". However, three chaplains at Pendleton, all senior Marine officers, have stated publicly that they knew of the presence of the Klan and said that the Command was also aware of it.

In spite of the evidence of the search, and in spite of the statement of the chaplains, the courageous Black Marines still face the wrath of military court-martial, with each sentence still carrying prison sentences of up to 21 years. And what happened to the Klan? The Marine Command immediately wrapped its own cloak around those members on the exposed roster. The entire roster was kept secret. The listed members were transferred to other undisclosed bases.

It is the decision made at the highest policy levels in Washington. This decision shows that the bourgeoisie has every intention of instigating further attacks upon the oppressed Black Nation and national minorities. These attacks strike at the entire working class. It is to the benefit of U.S. imperialism to strike at the growing unity of the multi-national working class, especially its militarily trained members, by perpetuating the activities of the Klan. The only limitations on such attacks will be dictated by the needs of the bourgeoisie for a functioning military force to fight imperialist wars. The Klan, and its backing by the State, is a question that involves the entire U.S. working class. As part of that struggle the multi-national working class must take up the just cause of the Black Marines of Camp Pendleton, and strike at the forces that protect, back up, and are actually back of the Klan attacks.

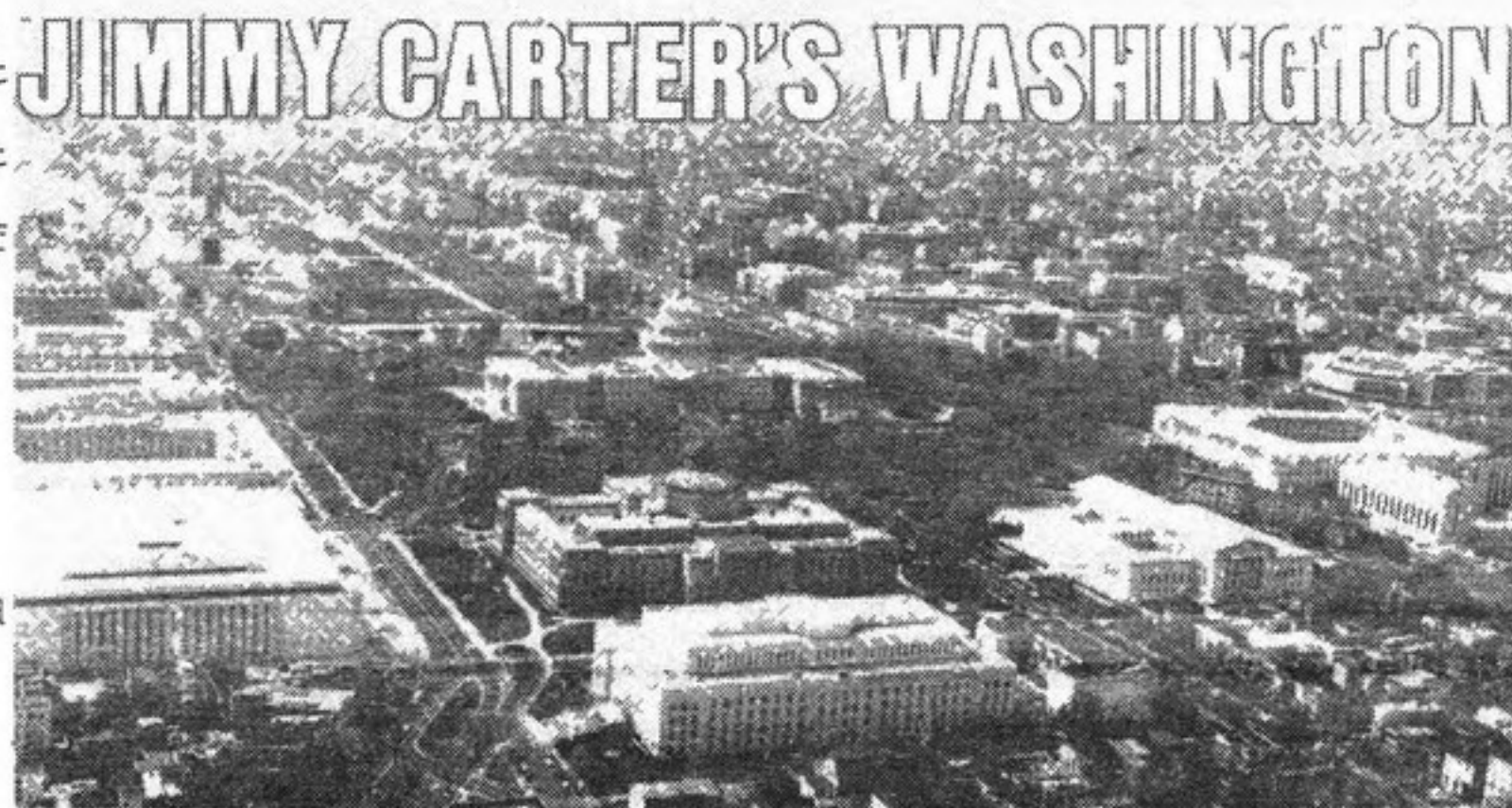
For one hundred years white Southern sheriffs, and many churches, looked the other way while the Klan, the true voice for the propertied

South, raped and tortured Blacks, and deprived the Black Nation of its land. But woe be to the Black that retaliated, attempted to protect himself or herself, or even to protest or file a complaint.

Working people of the U.S., especially, but not only in the South, have also experienced the wrath of the same forces as strikebreakers in the service of capitalism. It has been their undying hatred of the Klan, and indignation over the hypocrisy and outright participation of the police and courts in Klan activities that has weakened the Klan forces over the years.

In spite of its historical roots, we must understand that the Klan is not simply a Southern issue. For many years the Klan has operated in border and northern cities. Today, the open protection given the Klan by the Marine Command at Camp Pendleton, is not some local quirk.

Support for the struggle has already begun. "People United to Fight Oppression", a San Diego coalition, has held demonstrations. Continue to support this struggle until it is won.



TRUTH ABOUT THE "PEOPLES' INAUGURATION"

While Jimmy Carter is heading the 1977 circus labeled the "Peoples Inauguration" it is not difficult to look below the surface to see that this is bourgeoisie democracies' latest attempt to pacify the people. The array of free events, parades, dances, etc. are reminiscent of the big bi-centennial celebrations. But, even this new masquerade by the ruling class cannot cover the deep crisis they face, as imperialism weakens, and resistance to oppression grows.

The General Crisis of capitalism is a crisis which affects all aspects of capitalist society, ideologically as well as economically and politically. We can see this in the continuing degeneration of culture, rising unemployment, and corruption of government. In order to maintain itself in power the imperialists must intensify their exploitative rule. This increased oppression falls on the backs of the working masses and the oppressed nations. This is especially true of the Black Nation in the Black Belt South. Jimmy Carter and his staff of Atlanta aristocrats are an important asset to the bourgeoisie now, when they need cheap Southern labor and Southern capital to maintain profits. Atlanta bankers, lawyers, and financiers all "want a piece of the action" says the Washington Star. The "action" they speak of is profits stolen from the labor of the working masses.

The bourgeoisie use both the elections and the inauguration farce that follows to give the illusion that things are chang-

ing. Carter's appointment of Andrew Young to the U.N. and his mandatory ethnic code are nothing more than attempts on the part of the ruling class to get people to think that this administration will be different. This is nothing but a sham. It is not a question of which person is in power or which electoral party, but which class the state serves. The capitalist class is dying a slow death. The masses of working people and oppressed minorities can see through these masquerades by the bourgeoisie and know that although the faces have changed, they are still singing the same song.

The contradictions become clearer when we look at any aspect of the capitalist system. Just blocks from where Carter will be inaugurated among the glitter and gold, in Washington D.C., thousands of Black and working class families live below the poverty level. While Washington D.C. will offer the new administration an array of fringe benefits, it does not offer the same to its citizens, 60% of which are Black. While hundreds of professional staffers invade the city taking government jobs, unemployment in the District soars. Between 1970 and 1974 unemployment among women workers in the district increased 140%.

Most Black people originally came to Washington from the Black Belt South. Maryland and Virginia, which border D.C., were the two largest slave owning states before the Civil War. Many Black people migrated to

D.C. where slavery did not suit its growing urban economy and where Northern congressmen offered some protection for Black people. The abolitionist movement grew within the city and along with it came increased suppression of the Black population, spurred by white fears of increasing migration from the slave states. In the 1800's Black people were barred from the capital grounds except on "business".

For the majority of the nation, Washington D.C. is the capital of the union, but for its 600,000 residents, it is more aptly a "colony" of the federal government. Every act passed for the district requires the implicit consent of the non-Washingtonians in Congress and the White House. The effects of this "colonial" status in one respect is to inhibit the development of the Black bourgeoisie. The rise of Black-owned small businesses and Black representation in local government has created a Black petty-bourgeoisie. But the fetters put on the local government limits any power this strata can attain. While it appears that Black people have been able to reap some of the fruits of capitalism, this is only a facade. While it is true that Blacks in the District have some control of the local government and school board, this control is always under the careful eye of the federal government. In this way the power of the Black community is held in check.

However, the bourgeoisie in Washington D.C. use Black capitalism to perpetuate the myth that capitalism can work for everyone. By giving a small strata of the population a chance to get a piece of the pie, they

attempt to buy off an even bigger strata. This is a favorite tactic of the bourgeoisie by dividing the Black community they try to weaken its power.

The crisis of capitalism intensifies all the contradictions which exist in imperialism, most fundamentally, the contradiction between labor and capital. That is, the contradiction which exists between those who own and control the means of production and those who own nothing but their own labor power, the proletariat. Lenin in *State and Revolution* said that, "The state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another." In the United States, under capitalism, the state is the organ by which the bourgeoisie oppresses the proletariat. That is why we must thoroughly expose any attempts by the bourgeoisie, like the bi-centennial, or the elections and inauguration to portray the state as a servant of the people. While the capitalist class rants on about "democracy" we must ask, democracy for whom?, for what class? In the United States today it is democracy for the capitalist class. The entire election apparatus serves to maintain them in power.

The working class and oppressed minorities are wakening to these facts, that for them there is no democracy. The working class needs their own party, a vanguard party of the proletariat which will lead them in their struggle against imperialism, for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rule of the vast majority of society, the working class.



STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

MEAT PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS FIGHT SELL-OUT CONTRACT & UNION BUREAUCRATS

Workers in the meat packing houses throughout the country are beginning to take up the struggle against the packing house chains and the trade union bureaucrats who now control the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. This past fall a new Master Agreement was negotiated between the Amalgamated and most of the major meat packing chains. The Master Agreement covers 85,000 of the 150,000 unionized packinghouse workers. Armour, Swift, Hormel, Wilson, Morrell, Rath, and Cudahy workers are covered by the contract which is bargained every three years. The negotiations provided an opportunity for workers to see clearly the nature of the bureaucrats who run their trade union. It was also an arena for struggle, as workers in various local plants fought hard to defeat the new sell-out contract.

At the Bar-S Cudahy plant in Seattle, Wa., members of local #186 voted down the new contract by a 3-2 margin in a vote that was also a statement of no confidence in the local union officials who pushed the contract. In this local, and most others, contract negotiations are something that take place far away and the workers have no real say in what is going on. The reality of life in the packinghouses: 60 hour work weeks, 45 degree temperatures, constant speedups and declining real wages, does not disturb the atmosphere in the bargaining room, if the union bureaucrats can help it. But this year, more and more, the workers made their voices heard. Hygrade workers went on strike over pensions and overtime demands and wildcatted when the union tried to force them back. Chicano workers at the Peyton Co. plant of the John Morrell chain in El Paso, Texas went out demanding to be covered by the Master Agreement like the rest of the chain. Presently, workers in the local packinghouses in Los Angeles, not covered by the Master Agreement, are on strike.

GOALS OF THE WORKERS AND GOALS OF THE CAPITALISTS

The demands of the packinghouse workers are clear: more wages and better working conditions. The 1973 Agreement gave only a twenty cent per year wage increase and a cost of living allowance that did not keep up with inflation. Packinghouse workers can hardly afford to buy the meat they produce. In the last three years meat prices have increased by more than 20%. Small wage increases and higher prices mean huge profits for the capitalist packers. This is revealed more clearly when we realize that each packinghouse worker produces an average of 112.1 pounds of meat each hour (this is the 1970 figure, which has no doubt increased by now).

What drives the capitalist in the meat industry, like the whole capitalist class, is the need to increase profits. In a time of general crisis like the present, when markets are not increasing, but shrinking, profits are increased by intensifying the exploitation of the working class. The meat companies try to hide this reality of capitalist production by blaming "natural conditions", like cattle shortages or feed grain shortages, for the increase in prices. But the truth isn't hard to find. Although the packers had a bad profit year in 1975, the net profits as return on investment during the years 1971-75 averaged 10.1%, up over 2% from the previous five year average. 1974 was a record profit year for the industry and 1976 looks good for the

capitalist too.

1976 first half-year pre tax profits

Armour	\$41,760,000
Swift	\$80,485,000
Hormel	\$10,205,000
Wilson	\$9,757,000
Iowa Beef	\$25,582,000
Oscar Mayer	\$19,540,000

And yet these packers claimed that they could afford no wage increase for workers in the new contract.

As profits increase for the big packer so does their power over the industry. The Big Four Packers account for 75% of all the hogs killed in the twelve north central states where the industry is concentrated. Between 1969 and 1974 the actual number of hog slaughtering plants declined by 30% from 775 to 556, while the number of hogs killed increased, reaching nearly 64 million head in 1975. Small independent packers and the small chains like Rath and Cudahy, are slowly being forced out of the business.

Beef slaughtering has always been less monopolized, but there too the so-called "new breed" beef packers, like Iowa Beef, Missouri Beef and Monfort are taking over more and more of the industry. In 1969, 35 firms accounted for 50% of the cattle slaughtered in the country, by 1973 this was down to 24 firms. These "new breed" packers have the edge on their older rivals in the area of exploitation because workers in these plants are not covered by the Master Agreement and usually receive from one to two dollars less per hour. On the other hand, the older firms use this as a reason to not give wage increases. It is an important goal for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters to get all packinghouse workers covered by the same Master Agreement.

The concentration that is going on in the meat industry is an example of the general tendency in the capitalist system for capital to concentrate and monopolies to form. As this process goes on in the meat industry the industry itself is being brought under the control of the largest capitalists. Greyhound now owns Armour, Esmark owns Swift, Ling, Temco and Vought own Wilson, United Brands-Morell, General Host-Cudahy. These big capitalists are in no way interested in serving society by providing food for the country. They are out to use the power of their capital to gain control over the meat industry and make huge profits through the exploitation of packinghouse workers and peoples' basic need to eat.

CONDITIONS IN THE PACKINGHOUSES

For years the meat companies have used the excuse of the "nature of the industry", having to keep live animals and spoilable meat, as an excuse for maintaining exploitative working conditions. Most packinghouses run only one main shift. This is due to a number of factors: keeping animals, refrigeration space, the time it takes to smoke processed meats like ham and bacon, and the need to wash the entire plant each night. When production increases packinghouses simply demand that people work overtime. In many plants, 10 hour are common. The contract allows up to 12 hours a day, 7 days a week, if there is any danger of spoilage.

There are also seasonal increases in specific departments. At the

Cudahy plant in Seattle, workers involved with ham boning, smoking and packing work a 55 hour week all fall in preparation for Thanksgiving and Christmas, and in the spring for Easter. Workers in the sausage kitchen work up to 14 hours in a day during the summer making hot dogs.

For the packers, overtime, even at time and half pay, is cheaper than hiring new people and adding new machines. Overtime hours do not count as hours worked towards sick leave, vacations, or pensions. For a full time worker the company pays no additional unemployment compensation payments for overtime which they would have to pay for an additional worker. Adding more workers usually means adding more equipment which does not yield a profit. If work slows down workers hours can be cut, but unused machines are a costly waste.

The companies also use overtime as a club and a bribe. Most workers cannot afford to raise their families on just their straight time wage. When overtime occurs in one department, workers from other departments are often brought in for overtime work on Saturdays and after their regular shift. This work is only offered to those workers whom the bosses like and it is denied to any workers who cause trouble.

PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT

Workers at plants all over the country have two main demands: increased wages, to cut out the dependence on overtime, and an end to all forced overtime. But in response to these demands the trade union bureaucrats of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters went to the defense of the



capitalist meat packers and the capitalist system in general. The packers, they claim, can't predict the rises and declines in production due to the fluctuations in the demands for products. This is an aspect of what Karl Marx called the "anarchy of production" under capitalism. The sudden increase for ham at one plant is due to the competition between packinghouses or to "sales" by a supermarket chain used to induce customers into the store. The object of this type of production is not meeting peoples' need for food but for making profits.

By contrast, the socialist system has production which is planned for the purpose of fulfilling needs. Socialism is the system of rule by the working class. After state power has been forced from the hands of the capitalists and the proletariat has set up its own dictatorship to control the former capitalists, the working class will come to control both the means of production and of distribution. Feeding people will become a question of assessing the need and struggling to fulfill it. Seasonal increases and decreases can be accounted for. Workers will no longer bear the burden of excessive hours due to the anarchistic ups and downs of capitalist produc-



tion

With the working class in control of state power and the means of production, technology would be in the service of the masses of people, to improve working conditions and products. Today capitalist technology is used only for the purpose of increasing production and profits.

In meatpacking, automation has combined with speed-ups and overtime to reduce the number of jobs in the industry by 90,000 over the last 20 years. At the same time, productivity has tremendously increased between 1958 and 1970: the pounds of meat produced per man-hour worked increased from 68.2 lbs to 112.1 lbs. The results of speed-up and automation are clear: for the packers it means more profits, but for the workers it means less jobs, more hours, and an accident rate that increased by 111.3% over the same 12 year period. None of this technology has been used to improve the conditions of workers who stand on wet cement floors in 40-50 degree temperatures for 10 hours a day.

On the kill floor of a packinghouse, the chain carrying the carcasses move at a constant speed and each worker does his part of cleaning and dressing out the animal, one after another. The companies are always trying to speed up the chain. It is a constant battle between labor and capital, to even get a rest break. At the Cudahy plant in Seattle butchers in the pork cut department have an hourly standard of 120 hogs. During the hour in which their 15 minute break occurs they have to cut the same 120 hogs in the remaining 45 minutes. The new contract failed to do anything about these kinds of working conditions.

ORGANIZING IN THE PACKINGHOUSES

Working in packinghouses is hard work. Laborers carry around trucks with 1000 lbs of pork fat, lard or hams. A person handling bellies in a smoke house will lift a 20 lb belly with one hand every 5-10 seconds. Boners and other butchers often get tendonitis, a chronic strain in the joints. In addition, packinghouse work is dirty: people get greasy or covered with blood. As an industry, it has the stigma of being unpleasant, undesirable place to work.

Packinghouse work is highly socialized. Between the pig on the South Dakota farm and the ham on the table in New Jersey hundreds of packinghouse workers each do one small step. One pulls leaf-lard, one removes a kidney, one pushes the hogs into the cooler, one cuts the ham off, one pumps it

with brine, fattening, boning, smoking, packing, shipping. It is only through a highly socialized process that production can take place on such a large scale.

These kinds of working conditions and socialized relations have made the packing house workers militant fighters. But this militancy must be transformed into a material force struggling for socialism by fusing scientific socialism with the militant spontaneous movement of the workers.

Communists in the packinghouses must take up the day to day struggles of the workers and give leadership to them from the perspective of the long-range goals of the working class. In the packinghouses this means taking up questions like overtime and working conditions and explaining why they are not "natural" to the industry, but an example of how capitalists solve problems by burdening the working class. Packinghouse workers understand the uniqueness of their industry as a food industry. The struggles over each particular demand in working conditions needs to become an area for building an understanding of how this industry fits into the capitalist system and why the overthrow of capitalism is the only long term assurance of improvement in working conditions.

In the packinghouses, communists must struggle to build factory nuclei political centers in the plant to bring the perspective of the revolutionary goals of the working class to the daily struggles. In most packinghouses the place to start organizing work is on the kill floor. This is the most socialized department and the one with

and women, and when production declines they force women to take lay-offs.

These policies by the packers creates divisions among the workers. Factory nuclei must directly address these questions if divisions are to be overcome and unity be built. It must be clearly pointed out whose interest they serve and their source in the capitalist system. It is in taking up these kinds of issues and other daily economic and political issues that the fusion of communism and the workers movement will take place and factory nuclei be built.

THE UNION

The historic task of the trade union is to struggle for the complete emancipation of labor from capital as well as to lead the workers in their fight for day to day economic and political demands. The trade union bureaucrats in control of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters do neither of these. And why should they? Their interests do not lie with the workers, but with the capitalists. The historic mission of the working class is to overthrow capitalism and eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man. In the struggle for state power to achieve this goal, the workers have nothing to lose but their chains. But the trade union bureaucrats have a lot to lose. Patrick Gorman, for many years International Secretary-Treasurer (the leading office), reached retirement age. But at the 24th Convention this past summer he created a new position for himself: Chairman of the Board, at

many years beef has been slaughtered in the packing houses and sent to retail stores hanging in quarters where the butcher "broke" and cut the beef. In recent years beef packers have introduced assembly line breaking and cutting of the quarters down to chucks, loins, and rounds in the packinghouses and shipped it boxed to the markets. For years the Amalgamated has fought against this move which tends to destroy some of the craft aspect of the meat cutter in the retail stores. Today no "boxed beef" is still allowed into Chicago and St. Louis, two cities where the Amalgamated has been strong for a long time. The skilled craft segment of the industry form the basis for the labor aristocracy in the union. Their interest lies in preserving their craft, often at the expense of the interest of their class. The retail meat cutters, especially those who work in or own small butcher shops, have a different relation to production than packinghouse workers. Their work is not socialized -- in fact, they fight against socialization. Their skill level affords them the ability to open up their own shops or markets. Their relation to production is more like that of the petty bourgeoisie, and so often is their in-

come. The wages of meat cutters in the supermarkets runs between \$1 and \$1.50 an hour above that of packing house workers, but workers in small retail markets make even higher wages.

Their craft interests which are distinct from those of the working class as a whole, provide a basis for the material bribery of this section of the workers by the bourgeoisie. This is the labor aristocracy of whom Lenin said,

"This aristocracy of labor, which at that time earned tolerably good wages, boxed itself up in narrow craft unions, and isolated itself from the masses of the proletariat, while in politics, it supported the liberal bourgeoisie" (CW, Vol. 19, p. 370, "Harry Quelch").

They provide the bourgeoisie with a trend in the working class whose interests are tied to the bourgeoisie and not to the rest of the working class. The struggle against this trend is the pivot of our tactics in the trade union struggle, as the direction of our blow against imperialism must be aimed to smash these social props, and sweep them aside.

The Struggle Against the LABOR ARISTOCRACY

WHO'S WHO AMONG THE BETRAYERS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Name: Edward T. Hanley
Position: President, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, former President of Culinary Workers Chicago Joint Executive Board, 1962-1973, business representative for Bartenders Local 450
Salary: \$100,000 per year, expenses
Address: Chicago, and Antioch, Illinois, Palm Springs California
Associates: Politicians, Hotel Owners, and Organizers
Union Assets: \$14.5 million
Union Organizers: 104
Union Membership: 435,000

Edward T. Hanley's salary puts him near the top of the U.S. trade union bureaucrats. In three years in office, Hanley has been paid and spent more than the great majority of hotel workers are paid in a lifetime. On top of that, Hanley can retire, just walk out the door, and still collect his full salary as a pension for the rest of his life. Now that is what you call a real union welfare plan!

Impatient to live in the style of his political and hotel owning friends, after becoming President of the Hotel Workers, Hanley quickly bought a \$290,000 horse farm north of Chicago, and a \$53,000 retreat in Palm Springs. Hanley's union salary, especially given the high risk factor involved in Hanley's associates, could no more serve as collateral in the steely eyes of a banker than future earnings of a high wire walker. Hanley's solution was to put up union money.

The use of union salaries for pay-offs has been a long standing practice among the trade union bureaucrats. Jackie Presser, now a vice-president of the Teamsters, who recently worked for Hanley, held at one time, seven union positions with a gross take of \$176,000. The pay-offs are not for nothing. One thing they buy are the mob-organizers, so evident in the roster of the Hotel Workers Union.

In fact, it is not true, as the capitalists would have us believe, that all 104 of Hanley's organizers are mobsters. Of much greater danger to the working class are those organizers hired specifically, and primarily for their skills in the ways of liberal reformism. Without these skills, without the something for everyone arrangements that pit the nationalities in the multi-national Hotel Workers Union at each other, the enforcers would represent just so much useless firepower. It is the activities of the liberal trade union bureaucrats, based upon their social base in the higher paid and privileged labor aristocracy within the hotel workers, that represents the true power of the capitalists within the trade unions.

Though a serious and grave threat in individual cases, Hanley's muscle is nothing against that of the working class. The great majority of workers must and will wrest control of the unions from the labor aristocrats and destroy the relatively small group of those who betray the working class to gain privileges from the class of the bourgeoisie.

PIVOT OF OUR TACTICS in the Labor Movement



the most militant history. In many plants today it is on the kill floor that work stoppages and slowdowns begin. This is the heart of the production.

Factory nuclei must lead the struggle to build unity among packinghouse workers as a conscious force. This means taking the questions of oppressed nation and the oppression of national minorities on to the shop floor as a concrete issue. The packers have often tried to encourage division in the working class along national lines by separating workers of each nationality into different departments. Or in the case of the Peyton Co., in Texas, separating the Chicano and Mexican workers from the rest of the Morrell chain.

Unity must also be built between the men and women workers in the packinghouses. Traditionally, women have worked in packaging and in the sausage kitchen, but not on any "knife jobs", the more skilled butcher jobs that have higher wage upgrades. This policy has not only prevented women from gaining equal wages and skill levels in the industry, it has also limited the number of jobs available to women in the industry. Many plants keep separate seniority lists for men

\$75,000 a year. New Secretary-Treasurer, Sam Talarico and President Harry Poole each also receive \$75,000. In addition to these three top offices there is a string of International V.P.'s who get \$42,000 a year. With a huge staff, a big office in Chicago, and a budget based on dues and pensions of 550,000 members, this bureaucracy is happy with things just as they are.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America is a big prize. In addition to the packinghouse division the union includes meat cutters in small retail shops and meat departments of the supermarket chains, the fur and leather workers division, and the poultry, fish and frozen foods division, which includes frozen food workers at General Foods and Banquet and workers at Campbell's Soup and Heinz.

Within the union these divisions work independently of one another to a great extent. But sometimes the interests of the packinghouse workers, the industrial workers, is sacrificed to that of the retail meat cutters, who are the more skilled craft workers.

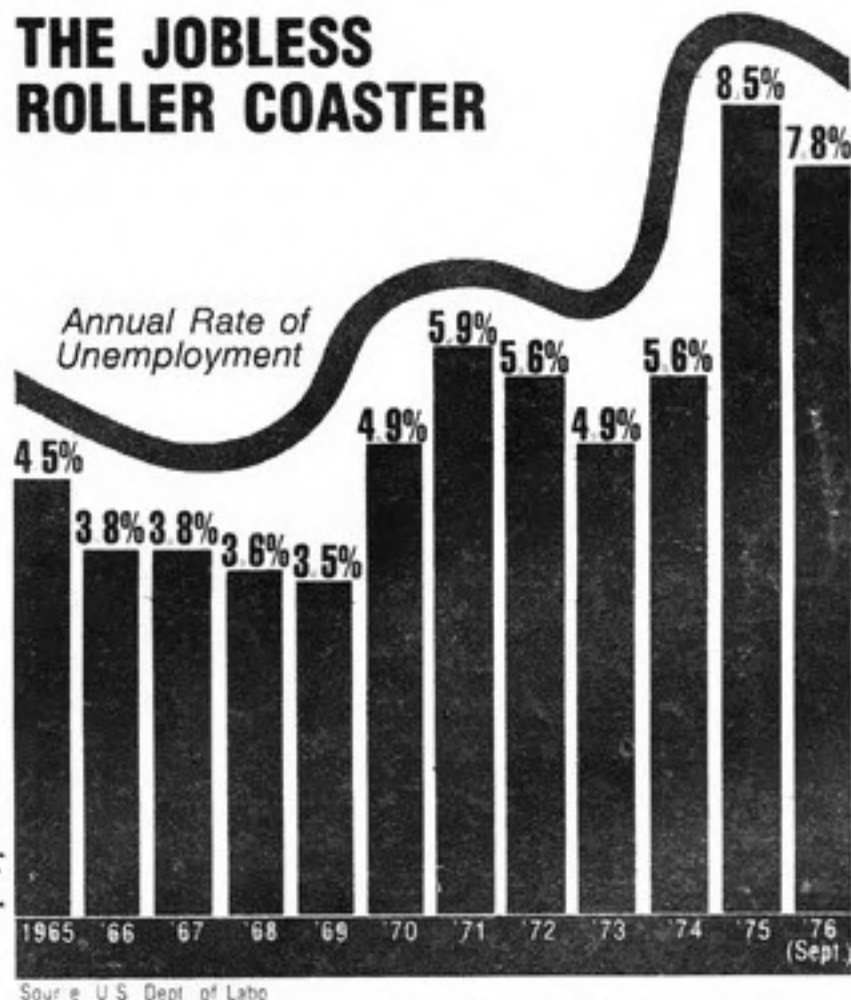
One example of this is the controversy over "boxed beef." For

CARTER'S POLICIES

The program is a conventional tax cut and spend package, with the emphasis on cutting taxes. Carter announced it as a \$28-\$35 billion program. But that is over a two year period. Actually it will provide less stimulus than the \$20 billion proposal that Ford had planned to put out, or that the \$22-\$25 billion program of the Business Council of the leading U S Monopoly Capitalists approved. To put it in perspective, the \$16 billion involved in the first year is less than 1% of the dollar value of the gross national product (GNP). Yet the economy is still operating somewhere 20% below the self serving standards of the capitalists. The direct outlay on jobs of \$2 billion is less than 1/8th of 1% of the GNP. Yet, eighteen months after the beginning of the so-called recovery, unemployment is still at 8%. By the incoming Administration's own assessment, unemployment is likely to remain above 7% for 1977, and above 6% for 1978. For Blacks, this means that there will be little or no change in a rate of unemployment that now stands near 14%. And the minimum wage entry jobs for the relatively few "lucky" veterans, national minority, and Black Nation youth, provided in Carter's job program, will hardly dent unemployment rates that now stand as high as 40% for Black youth. The Carter job program is certainly a long way from the original "Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act" that Carter endorsed as part of his campaign promises "to help the poor and the minorities."

Introduced in 1975 by Black Congressman, Augustus Hawkins of California, the bill originally provided that unemployment be brought down to 3% in 18 months. The Federal government would be the employer of last resort, if necessary. By socialist standards unemployment of 3% represents a criminal waste, degradation, and humiliation of the working class for which the perpetrators deserve to be shot. In the United States under capitalism, such a goal is dismissed as utopian. Only at the height of production in World War 2 has the unemployment rate stayed at such a level for any time at all. For the first twenty years after WW2 official unemployment rates (which understate true unemployment) were generally 4-6%. During the 1970's, the rates have been in the range from 5½ to 8½%.

THE JOBLESS ROLLER COASTER



This reflects the deepening crisis of capitalism. As the situation has deteriorated the apologists for capital have either revised their unemployment targets from 3 to 4 to 5% to 6%, or pushed the expected date of return to full employment (defined as at least 4%) into an ever distant future. This is what happened to the Hawkins bill, later renamed the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill to reflect its sponsor in the Senate. By the time it was readied to serve as a plank in the Democrats' platform it had been further gutted. The targetted rate of unemployment was set at 4%, and the Administration would have four years to get there. The bill also contained many outs couched in the typical appeals to "balance", national defense, etc. Even this bill proved too extreme, too utopian for many liberals including Charles Schultze who now heads Carter's Council of Economic Advisors.

The gap between what Carter promised workers, and what he has started to deliver to the capitalists is part of a shell game that has gone on long before anyone heard of Plains, Georgia. In the capitalists' facts of life, the life of the working class simply does not count. But to simply dismiss the whole program as "business as usual" fails

to give correct guidance to the working class. Instead we must ask the question, why is there such a gap between promise and performance? Is it a sign that the capitalist politicians view the working class as increasingly gullible? Such desperate promises arose from Carter's understanding of the increasing anger of the working class and oppressed peoples. *These unkept and unkeepable promises reflect the growing strength of the workers, not the strength of the capitalists, who are faced with an increasingly severe crisis.* A crisis so deep and so much a part of capitalism that in spite of every action they take to control it, they fall into a deeper and deeper hole.

At the same time, the working class must not dismiss Carter's promises as completely empty. They are actually more sinister in their content. They are the fashioning of new weapons that the capitalists will attempt to turn against the working class here in the U S, against the oppressed nations and colonies, and against the social-imperialist U S S R in the competition for power, profits, and plunder. Without such new weapons the U S capitalists know that their prospects in the next few years are increasingly bleak. From the Tet offensive of the Vietnam War, the devaluation of the dollar, and the plummeting of production levels in 1974, the U S capitalists have been sent reeling. Unsure which way to turn, unable to catch their breath, they have attempted to keep the world from turning while their intellectual lackeys come up with a solution. One proposed solution related directly to Carter's job program is to structure the U S economy more along the line of Western Europe. After all, the Western European countries have had much lower rates of unemployment. These lower rates are attributed to a social contract between capital and labor. Actually it is no more than a contract between the capitalists and their lackeys within the trade unions. If the U S capital-

ists could manage through such "social contracts" to get by on a lower rate of unemployed, or at least to use them to better control the required labor force, that would mean more surplus, and more material to throw into repression of the workers here, national liberation struggles, and contention with the U S S R.

Under the watchful eye of match-makers like David Rockefeller's Tripartite Commission (U S, Western Europe, Japan) U S academics, liberal politicians, such as one James Earl Carter, and corporate executives started falling in love with Western European planning, especially with the "social contract." This was in fact the basis of Hubert Humphrey's tie to the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Plunging levels of industrial production and skyrocketing prices in Europe, brought a frightening glimpse, though not an understanding of the universal nature of capitalism's general crisis to the blindest, and bravest of the would-be planners and "crisis-managers." The European working class started making it increasingly clear that they were not part of the sell-out "social-contracts." Marxist-Leninist parties expressed the increasing strength of the working class against the capitalist and the revisionist parties that served them. With the crisis in Europe, it is understandable that some would question whether the "social contract" represented any out at all. At the same time, it has become increasingly clear that something has to be done. Unable to remain where it is for long, the U S capitalist class has two options: the concealed knife, the out fronted solution of open terrorism.

From the point of view of the bourgeoisie it would much prefer the disguise of the social contract. But the class struggle of the workers in Europe, the increasing strikes here at home, the repudiation of union bureaucrats, the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the working class has made them unsettled and unsure. Carter's January job-program is a holding action, in a vain attempt to get things sorted out. Far from reflecting the strength of the capitalists, it is a plea for relief, and a hope that things may get better. In the meantime, Carter is putting into place some of the weapons he will need in case they don't. They won't. For the capitalists are in a crisis that is beyond their will to control. The working class must get prepared.



Job seekers swarm Cadillac plant in Detroit

Cont from p 1

UMWA — Tough Fight In '77



Patrick

The life of the union as an organizer for the coal miners has nearly been liquidated. Union organizing is at a standstill and the union is suffering severe losses in the West. Because of the paranoia about his power being undermined, no one on the staff of the union can travel in the coal fields without Miller's permission. People in the safety division, who are supposed to make mine inspections to protect the lives of the miners, are

unable to make the badly needed inspections.

One case that arose out of the weak Western Organizing is now before the National Labor Relations Board. It threatens the right of the union to bargain with the entire coal industry at once, and threatens the practice of setting common expiration dates for UMWA contracts. The key man in UMWA bargaining, Tom Bethell, the only man left in Miller's staff with a deep grasp of industrial labor pacts, recently left the union after being attacked as being disloyal to Miller. This departure, and the staff Bethell took with him, leaves no one on the staff who bargained the 1974 contract.

With the union thus weakened, Miller raving that he is "surrounded with nothing but Brutuses", with 1977 the year of the renewing of the UMWA contracts, and the UMWA presidential election nearing, the miners are in for rough roads ahead. The social props of the bourgeoisie are now in power in the UMWA, and they must bodily be removed from these positions. The trade unions

are now fully integrated with the bourgeois state apparatus and therefore the entire structure which they have built must be smashed and replaced with working class leadership and working class union structure, reflecting the democratic nature of the rank and file of the UMWA. But further the actions of Miller and his opponents, must all be seen for what they are: better defenders of the interests of the capitalists than the capitalists themselves.



Trbovich

The weakening and possible destruction of the UMWA must be seen as an attack on the working class by the capitalist class. This is part of their overall need for the suppression of the working class militancy and the destruction of the fighting capabilities of the working class. Communists and advanced workers must take the lead in the struggle against this fascist offensive in the course of the day to day struggles in the mines and union halls. We must take communism to the working class movement and build the rank and file forces in the UMWA, especially in the leadership. The miners have a high level of class consciousness. What they need is leadership and organization. This is our task and the task of the communist party we are building.



REPORT FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

TROTSKYISM EXPOSED!

All the developments in the class struggle in 1976 indicate that the coming year will see great advances in the fusion of scientific socialism with the working class movement. Yet, at the same time, the fact that the US working class remains without its vanguard communist party as its guide, leader, and teacher, is an important indication that many problems remain to be resolved.

1977 began for the MLOC with a highly successful meeting of the Central Committee, in which a significant break was made with the "left" opportunist remnants which infect the working class movement, and existed as a definite tendency in the MLOC and the former Black Workers Congress. This advance for the working class movement, and other developments of policy taken by the Central Committee will be partially explained in the following report, and the thesis following this report on party building.

The most important basis for these advances lies in the struggle to know conditions and formulate policy actually based on the objective conditions of the working class movement. In the course of a year and a half, the MLOC has sought to promote the fusion of scientific socialism with the working class movement through the policy of concentrating a superior force in the strategic industrial and political centers of the country. Breaking from the infantile "left"-bloc of the revolutionary wing (WVO, PRWO, RWL, and ATM), the MLOC sought to take up the task of study, propaganda, and organizing in the most important industrial areas, rather than confining our activities to a few large petty-bourgeois centers, as the organizations of the wing have done for several years.

THE NEED FOR STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Yet these advances for the MLOC - taking up the struggle for concentration, the development of UNITE' into more of an agitational weapon, the solving of some important theoretical questions and other developments - all pointed starkly to the one most pressing problem facing the working class movement today - the lack of a clear outline of strategy and tactics for the proletariat in our struggle against the capitalist class. Without firmly grasping the basic questions of strategy and tactics, no genuine vanguard party can be built - a party which becomes the main directing force in the dictatorship of the proletariat after the seizure of state power.

Strategy, as Joseph Stalin explained in *Leninism*, "is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan of the disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves), the struggle to carry out this plan during the whole period of the given stage of the revolution." Tactics, on the other hand, are subordinate to strategy. They are not concerned with the war as a whole, but with battles in that war. "The most important part of tactics," stated Stalin, "is the determination of the ways and means, the forms and methods of fighting which best correspond to the concrete situation of the moment and are more certain to prepare the way for the strategic success."

In future issues of UNITE', the MLOC will unfold a basic line for the working class movement on the questions of strategy and tactics, their basis in the Party program, and their application to the relations of class forces in the class struggle. One point is certain - without this grasp of strategy and tactics it is not possible to

forge a genuine vanguard party which is the guide, leader, and teacher of the working class. Without this grasp of strategy and tactics, party building becomes an end in itself - as it has for the "left"-bloc in recent years.

MLOC HELD "LEFT" LINE

In seeking to sum up conditions in the working class movement, the Central Committee recognized the fact that the MLOC itself had not escaped from this "left"-opportunist line. A struggle had begun against this "left" tendency in the former UNITE' article which exposed the line of "political line is the key link." But this, as we stated at the time, was hardly adequate.

In fact, looking backward, we can see that the struggle unfolded in the former Black Workers Congress against right opportunism was correct in as far as it went - but it did not go far enough. It did not correctly take up the struggle on two fronts against opportunism exposing and routing both right and "left" opportunist deviations and tendencies. This is the task the Central Committee shouldered in its recent meeting.

TROTSKYISM OR LENINISM?

The essence of the "left"-opportunist line in the working class movement today is the Trotskyist formulation of fusion as the combining of the "communist movement with the working class movement." In essence, this is the historic line that Lenin and Stalin defeated which if effected, identifies the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the party.

Trotskyism is not a one-man affair, but a social trend, being reborn on every stage of the revolutionary movement because it is the expression of the attitude of a certain class, namely, the petty-bourgeoisie. The petty-bourgeoisie, subjectively wishes to become rich and powerful, like the imperialist bourgeoisie, objectively, however, monopoly capitalism continually removes the ground from under their feet, by the economic destruction of the small business and professional strata.

Because of this situation, the petty-bourgeoisie is afraid of the big bourgeoisie, but it is also afraid of the revolution. Seeing their future interests represented by the rise of the revolutionary strength of the working class, the petty bourgeoisie seeks to find a place in the revolutionary camp, but then turns to denounce the working class nature of this movement and to don "extreme left" masks itself.

This petty-bourgeois trend introduces an element of hesitancy and opportunism, of disintegration and lack of self-confidence, factionalism and splits, disorganization and the undermining of the revolutionary movement from within. They bring a "purely rational", meaning bourgeois rational, approach to the solution of problems of the revolution, an approach which has no relation whatever to the realities of life.

From this they come to believe that they are the driving force of the revolution, not the masses of working people. And because of their "self-importance", they cannot place the interests of the working class above their own personal ambition. Based on their own self-image, on what they think they are, and not on what they really are, they then declare themselves "100% Bolshevik to the bone", and "objectively the Party", denying all the material developments which must be realized for the working class.

Through Trotskyism these petty bourgeois elements try to disorganize and demoralize the forces which are mobilizing against capitalism.

They come in the name of the "true Leninists", the "left communists", but the effect of their activities is the same - aid to capitalism by attempting to undermine all that is really revolutionary.

Obviously there are none today who openly wave this foul flag, but yet the stench remains, clothed in a new stripe. The trend which states that our dual tasks are to Unite Marxist-Leninists and Win the Advanced - two tasks derived from the existence of two movements - is nothing other than Leon Trotsky popping out in new garb.

THE PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS

Not taking up the pressing questions of strategy and tactics has resulted in a failure to grasp the basic relationship between the party and the masses, and the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The task of the party is to fuse scientific socialism with the spontaneous working class movement in the course of leading the day to day struggle of the workers against the capitalist class. In so doing, the party acts as the guide, leader and teacher of the working class but there is a dual relationship involved, each learns and benefits from the other. But in no sense does the party constitute some separate "communist movement." Communists are part of the working class movement - there exists no separate communist movement which must be fused with the working class.

All social movements are based on a definite class. The working class movement - that part of the working class engaged in struggle against the capitalists - grows out of the working class as a whole. If there is a separate communist movement, then where does it grow from - either the proletariat, the petty-bourgeoisie, or the bourgeoisie. And if it is part of the proletariat then it cannot exist as a separate movement, separated from the working class movement.

Secondly, the relationship of the party to the masses must be seen in terms of the historic mission of the working class itself, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and eventually, communist society. The relationship of the party to the dictatorship is as the main directing force. The party, itself, never exercises a dictatorship, nor does it substitute its program or action for that of the working class.

It always works among the masses, for the masses, and together with the masses of workers.

BELITTLING THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Yet, look what has developed in recent years. Ever since the late sixties, several communist organizations have developed which today have very little influence or even presence among the masses - particularly the organizations of the so-called "revolutionary wing." The main activity of these professed revolutionaries - to one degree or another, has been sterile debates and endless polemics with each other - not the fusing of socialism with the workers movement. With few exceptions, they are not concerned in any real way with the work among the masses, for the masses, or together with the masses. They do not lead working class struggles, and are nowhere to be found in steel, auto, coal, etc where life and death struggles of the working class are daily being waged. They remain "100% pure Bolsheviks", in a closet in New York or Los Angeles. When they do venture out, they are immediately rebuffed by the workers for their infantile antics. This tendency also existed

within the MLOC - and has since been summed up and repudiated. Within the MLOC, as all organizations, there are always two lines on questions, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and opportunism. No program of any organization or party is 100% correct.

In the program of the MLOC we have sought in the main to follow the course of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. But at the same time, this "left" infection has weakened and held back advances that could have been made.

EXPRESSIONS OF THIS LINE

The manifestations of this "left" line in the MLOC and the workers movement that we repudiate at this time include - FUSION AS THE COMBINING OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WITH THE WORKERS MOVEMENT. Rather than combining scientific socialism with the working class movement in the course of leading the day to day struggles of the workers.

-WIN THE ADVANCED AND MARXISTS-LENINISTS UNITE AS TWO TASKS CORRESPONDING TO TWO MOVEMENTS. Rather than recognizing that Marxist-Leninists do not exist separate from the working class movement, and can only be united in the context of winning advanced and other workers to the cause of communism - let alone the Trotskyist view that party building is in the main a question of uniting Marxist-Leninists.

-FUSION IS AT A LOW LEVEL. Rather than recognizing that the level of socialist influence in the working class movement is at a high level, as indicated in the analysis of the state of the working class movement in COMMUNIST LINE #3. This erroneous line saw fusion as a question of the presence or existence of communists in the working class, rather than the fusing of scientific socialism with the workers movement, which has been taking place for 125 years through various forms and is today at a relatively high level.

-PROPAGANDA IS THE CHIEF FORM OF ACTIVITY. Rather than recognizing the relationship between propaganda and agitation, and how they serve the development of the working class movement. By their proper relationship in educating and mobilizing the masses of workers, agitation and propaganda both come into play. What is most needed today is the use of agitation and propaganda in leading and mobilizing the workers in the practical tasks of organizing the class struggle. What we need is better quality agitation and propaganda, more forms of it, with wider distribution and circulation with an emphasis on the practical tasks facing the class struggle.

The Party Program, for instance, should be the main basis of agitation and propaganda, and was considered by Lenin to be one of the main practical tools of the working class struggle, not primarily a "theoretical work."

These have been some of the main manifestations of this "left" opportunist line in the MLOC, which have been reflected in a disdain for questions of strategy and tactics, the failure to push UNITE' forward more rapidly into a weapon of national agitation, and other activities which require further summation, repudiation and rectification.

While the MLOC, coming out of the former Black Workers Congress, nibbled at this foul meal, the revolutionary wing has consumed this dish with relish over the last few years. Even the October League, now, has adopted the left line of MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN THE ADVANCED. Additional reflection

BUILD THE PARTY OF

The struggle to forge a vanguard communist party requires the struggle against opportunism on two fronts - against right and "left" opportunism. In breaking with the "left" opportunist, Trotskyite line summed up in the report of the meeting of the Central Committee, the MLOC advances this outline of the basic line and five-point plan for party building. This line firmly roots the struggle for the party in the aim of the working class movement, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and establishes the correct relationship between the party and the masses. In the course of assisting and leading the day to day struggles of the workers, the MLOC will clarify various questions of policy resulting from this program for party building.

1 NATURE OF THE PARTY

All classes are led by political parties. The working class is led by its vanguard, communist party of a new type. The world outlook of the party is *dialectical-historical materialism*. The theoretical guide to action is *Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought*. The basic program of the communist party is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. The ultimate aim of the working class is communism.

2 FUSE SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM WITH THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Party building is the fusion of scientific socialism with the spontaneous working class movement in the course of leading the day to day struggles of workers and their allies against the capitalist class. The fusion of scientific socialism with the working class movement - that part of the working class engaged in struggle against the capitalists - has been carried forward for over 125 years in the United States, and will continue even after



the seizure of state power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, right up until communism, a classless society.

There can be no fusion of scientific socialism with the working class except in the struggle to assist and lead the day to day struggles of the workers, both for democratic and socialist demands.

3 DIRECTING FORCE IN THE DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT

The vanguard communist party, the advanced detachment of the proletariat, is the main guiding force in the fight to establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. This vanguard communist party is their guide, leader, and teacher.

There must exist a mutual confidence between the party and the working class. The Party must always learn from the masses, heed their revolutionary instinct and

study the practice of the masses in order to test the correctness of its own policy. At the same time, the party must always strive to win the confidence of the masses, so as to help the masses to learn by their own experience the correctness of the party policy.

4 PARTY OF THE MAJORITY, PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Because the program of the vanguard communist party is the program of the working class and its allies, it represents the interests of the vast majority of toilers.

As the party of the majority, the composition of the party must reflect its class base, be comprised of and be led in the main by workers of all nationalities.

5 PARTY OF A NEW TYPE

The success of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the US requires a party that is hardened in struggle, centralized, and closely linked with the masses. In the words of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL in 1928:

The Party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active, and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain unbreakable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves."

6 STRATEGIC AIM

To secure the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strategic aim of the communist party must be to (1) extend its influence over the majority of the working class, (2) provide leadership to wide sections of all those exploited and oppressed.

7 ONE CENTER

There can exist only one genuine center for the working class movement in this country in order to successfully overthrow the capitalists and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the outset, we are determined to shoulder and to learn by example this vanguard role.

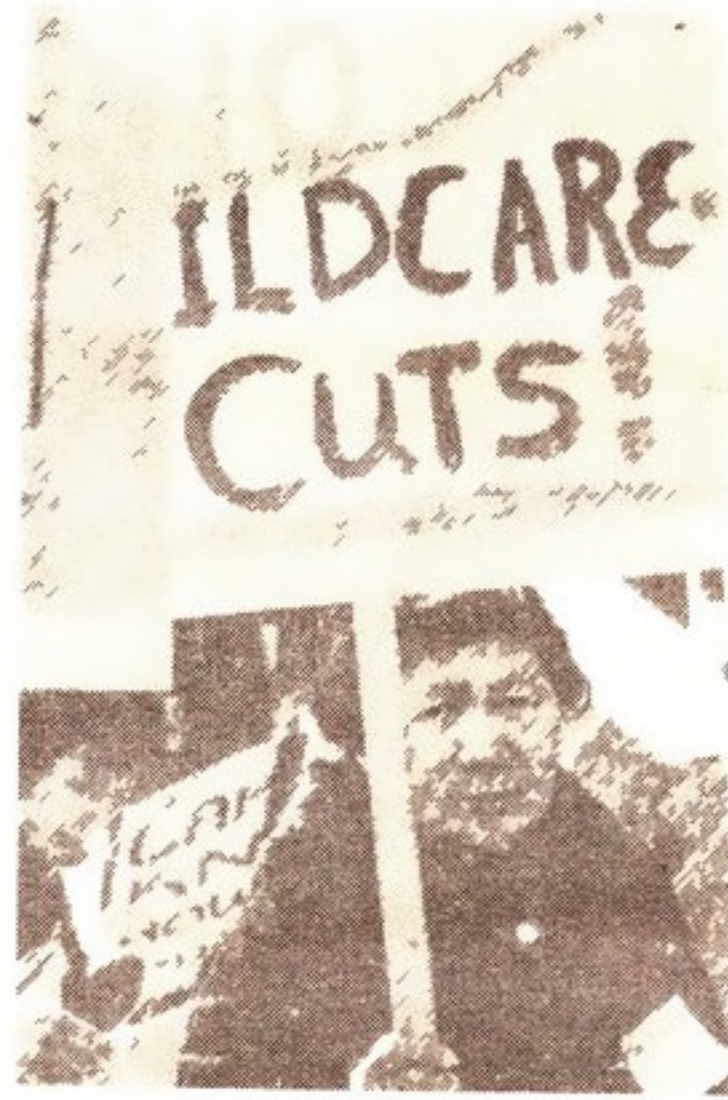
8 PARTY OF PROVEN DEEDS, NOT WORDS

The confidence of the working class and its allies in the vanguard communist party is achieved in the course of prolonged struggle, by a correct party policy, by the ability of the party to convince the masses by their own experience of the correctness of its policy, and by the ability of the party to actually gain the support of the working class and achieve leadership of the working class. True party leadership requires these achievements in fact, not in declaration.

9 CENTRAL TASK

In its historic struggle for emancipation, the working class of

the US forged a communist party in 1921 that actually gained the confidence of the masses and led the working class in struggle against the capitalists. With the class betrayal of the CPUSA and its eventual



liquidation in 1944, the central task facing the working class movement has been the reconstitution of a vanguard communist party. Today party building is the key link in our strategy for revolution.

10. PLAN FOR PARTY BUILDING

The historic struggle to forge a vanguard communist party requires (1) *FUSION* the fusion of scientific socialism with the working class movement in the course of leading the day-to-day struggles of the workers against the capitalists. This cannot be decisively achieved without concentrating a superior force in the strategic industrial and political centers of monopoly capitalism, (2) *PARTY PRESS* the development of a party press which acts as an ideological and political center in the working class movement, (3) *PROGRAM* the necessity for a draft party program which is the basis for drawing lines of demarcation, (4) *ORGANIZING COMMITTEE* the formation of an organizing committee which is firmly based upon Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and actually takes the draft program to the workers, (5) *CONGRESS* the convening of a party congress.

These five tasks constitute the Marxist-Leninist plan for forging a vanguard communist party in the working class movement. At the present time, the urgent question of party building is that of the *practical activity* the development of a political program based upon the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as applied to the con-

HISTORY OF THE



In this issue of UNITE' we are unfolding a campaign to apply the international experience of the proletariat as summed up in the HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIK) to guide us in building a vanguard communist party in the US. This campaign is being taken up by comrades and militant workers throughout the country in order to raise the ideological level of the entire working class movement by laying out the ideological, political, organizational, and tactical foundations of a communist party and the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This campaign will directly assist the working class movement in completing the conditions required to form a communist party.

The HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) is unparalleled in its unity of the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete struggles of the working class in the course of winning the dictatorship of the proletariat. Published by a commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) in 1938, under the direct guidance of Joseph Stalin, this is a concise presentation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of historical facts. In this way the living relationship between theory and practice is vividly shown through the history of the Russian working class's seizure of state power, led by the CPSU(B), with Lenin and Stalin at the head of the party.

As a history of proletarian revolution, it deals with major questions of Marxism-Leninism, and is an important means to aid in the mastering of Bolshevism. Successive issues of UNITE' will include a sum-

mary of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism in each chapter of the HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) as applicable to our situation in the US.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CREATION OF A PARTY

The first chapter of the History of the CPSU(B) is the history of the rise and development of the working class movement in its early stages in Tsarist Russia. Capitalism arose in the midst of the backward and feudal conditions of serfdom and semi-slavery where the masses of people were held down by intolerable conditions and where the enslavement of entire nations by the tsarist rule made Russia a prison house nations and national minorities.

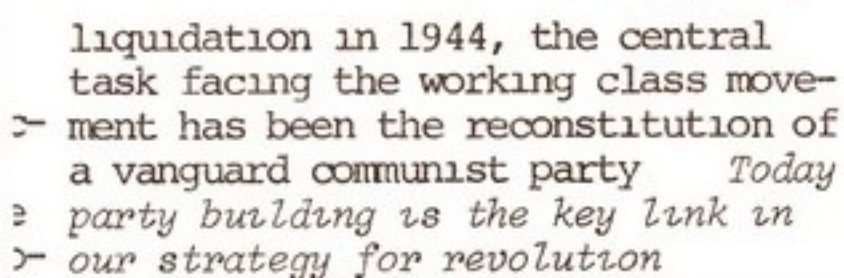
The growth of capitalism in Russia, as in all countries, brings with it the growth and development of the social forces of modern society: the capitalist class, or bourgeoisie, and the working class, the proletariat. With the growth of the class struggle between these two classes, and the struggle to overthrow the oppressive rule of the tsarist dynasty, various political forces came into existence, and struggled with one another to lead the revolutionary movement.

MARXISM COMES TO RUSSIA

The first of these struggles was to establish the leading force of the revolutionary movement. Was it to be the liberal bourgeoisie, the peasantry, or the working class? Both from workers and from revolutionary intellectuals, Marxism was brought to the soil of the Russian revolutionary movement from the experience of the proletariat in Western Europe. Its main thrust was to establish the working class as the main force of the modern revolutionary struggle against exploitation and oppression.

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crete conditions in the US, the questions of organization, mobilization and strategy and tactics. What we need is more propaganda and more agitation, but propaganda and agitation which serve each other.

The key link in party building today is the draft party program which establishes the goals and objectives of the working class in its struggle for emancipation and provides the basis by which to draw firm and definite lines of demarcation between the working class and its enemies

The struggle to forge a vanguard communist party is one strategic link of the protracted struggle against Imperialism. While forging the communist party, the struggle against Imperialism must at all times, everywhere, be tightly linked with the struggle against opportunism ideologically, politically and organizationally.

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The formation and unity of workers' study circle which took up the application of Marxism (the science of the class struggle of

the proletariat) to Russian conditions, brought about the basis for passing over to agitation among the masses of workers. The unification of these circles led to the first beginnings of a party of the working class in Russia. This was brought about by the work of Lenin, in the workers' struggles in St. Petersburg.

Lenin built upon the earlier work of Marxists in Russia, their attempts at establishing party programs for the working class, etc., to help guide the working class movement. When the first attempt at forming the party failed, Lenin summed up the nature of the situation and set out to organize the working class for struggle. Lenin pointed out the path of struggle, the need for a unified party, scientifically established the working class as the leading revolutionary force and clearly established that the peasantry was the main ally of the working class.

In this struggle Lenin clarified the nature of the various opportunist trends infecting the working class movement. *Narodism*, a form of terrorist anarchy, and *Economism*, which liquidated the political nature of the working class. He then set out that the *working class needed a party to lead it which had a common line of action, a party program, party rules, and a single, guiding center*. He saw that the establishment of the single guiding ideological center would be the key to unifying all the necessary forces for this party and that the party program would be decisive in this formation.

Organizing the ideological center of the working class movement was the plan that Lenin advanced. This center reached the masses of Russia through the pages of the first All-Russian working class news paper, ISKRA. Lenin's plan was to

develop a forum for the working class movement, which would discuss the complete spectrum of the needs of the working class movement, from the drafting of the party's program to the leadership of the day-to-day struggles of the workers

As a mass form of agitation, ISKRA proved the correct leadership of Lenin, welded the party into a unified organization to serve the interests of the working class and oppressed peasantry. The forging of the vanguard of the proletariat came about through the common line of action which ISKRA presented, and through the unrelenting struggle waged against enemies of the working class. Lenin's application of Marxism to the conditions of the oppressed and exploited masses of Russia for the first time gave them the weapon for political struggle: a *revolutionary theory* to guide their actions in the form of a party program, a *revolutionary party*, to lead the class for the seizure of state power, and a *revolutionary guiding center* for the working class movement. Lenin's ISKRA, to speak to their conditions and express their desires and interests against the bourgeoisie.

But at this point these were just in their infant forms. Chapter 2 will take up the actual details of the formation of the party and the struggle to gain its Leninist Bolshevik character. In summary then, the main lessons we can draw for our situation today are:

(1) The working class is the leading force of the revolution, the force that will overthrow capitalism and the imperialist bourgeoisie through the mass seizure of state power. The failure to firmly grasp this historical fact and mobilize the proletariat to fulfill their historic mission has left the field open for various opportunist stands on the question of the leading force of the revolution, and the related question of strategy and tactics.

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THE WORKING CLASS!

the conditions in the US, the questions of organization, mobilization and strategy and tactics. What we need is more propaganda and agitation, but propaganda and agitation which serve each other. The first task of the communist party is to win over the class



conscious worker. Without this achievement, it is impossible to prepare the actual forms of transition and approach to proletarian revolution.

11 PROGRAM

The key link in party building today is the draft party program which establishes the goals and objectives of the working class in its struggle for emancipation and provides the basis by which to draw firm and definite lines of demarcation between the working class and its enemies.

12 PARTY FORMED IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

The struggle to forge a vanguard communist party is one strategic link of the protracted struggle against Imperialism. While forging the communist party, the struggle against Imperialism must at all times, everywhere, be tightly linked with the struggle against opportunism ideologically, politically and organizationally.

13 PARTY THAT UPHOLDS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The task of the communist party of the US working class is decisive from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. All our tasks must always be taken up from the point of view of the advancement of the world proletariat, the oppressed nations and colonies, and the world historic mission of the working class. Our party will resolutely support the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations and the full struggle for democratic rights.

To forge a genuine vanguard party requires that we accomplish all of the immediate fighting tasks of the proletariat while at the same time, linking these tasks to the great goal of communism.

As the immortal Mao Tsetung stated, communism is "the future goal to which our present efforts are directed, if we loose sight of that goal, we cease to be Communists. But equally we cease to be Communists if we relax our efforts today."



THE CPSU(B)-Chapter 1

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Terrorists, such as the Weather Underground, Prairie Fire, the Symbionese Liberation Army, etc.,

are still able to maintain an influence in the working class movement, as are their tactics of individual heroism and individual terrorist activity. The view that lumpen elements are the leading force still has some influence, somewhat implicit in the line of the Communist Labor Party, and overt in the Black Panther Party, etc., and have not yet been thoroughly defeated. The CPUSA still builds its line on the "anti-monopoly coalition", urging unity with the "liberal" strata of the bourgeoisie, as do other opportunists, such as the Socialist Workers Party. And the organizations of the "revolutionary wing" objectively make their base in the interests of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

All these stands deny that the backbone of the socialist revolution is the industrial proletariat, and the working class basis of socialist revolution. We must escalate our struggle to expose and isolate these reactionary viewpoints in the working class movement.

(2) Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, today's scientific development of the experience of the proletarian revolution internationally, must be our guide to action, and must be applied to the revolutionary struggle here in the US. This must be done through the analysis of the current situation, for example, the nature of the general crisis of capitalism, the conditions of the working class. This is a question of paying attention to the objective conditions. In practice, we must concentrate in the industrial and political centers of the US by leading the working class in actually changing their conditions through political action.

(3) This class struggle must be led by a single political party, the vanguard community party of the proletariat, united on a common line of action, based on a clear scientific program, a party with clear party rules to make it a disciplined and organized detachment made up of the best elements of the working



class, and with a single guiding center which maintains the interests of the working class and the oppressed masses.

These conditions do not yet exist today, despite the claims and formations such as the Communist Labor Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, and the October League's Organizing Committee. The failure of the First Party Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party proves that these conditions must exist for the party to lead the working class, and that the party of the working class cannot be self-proclaimed.

All efforts at party formation must be initially judged by these principles. Have the parties and party building efforts grasped these correct lessons and avoided the mistakes? As we come to further apply these basic principles, and others laid out in the HISTORY OF THE CPSU (B), we can begin to critically judge the parties and party building efforts of today. Firmly grasping the nature of the needs of the working class and applying the lessons of the international proletariat, the forging of the vanguard communist party will come about on the basis of the ideological, political, organizational and tactical foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The future we will build will continue the glorious history of the revolutionary movement of the working class of the past.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE WORKING CLASS!

WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE, AND A WORLD TO GAIN!

Continued from p 7

tions of this line in the wing include

-THERE IS A NEW ANTI-REVISIONIST COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. As if the present activities of communists are separate from historical struggle of the workers, let alone to view that the struggle against revisionism is "new"

-POLITICAL LINE AS ONE'S VIEWS ON ANY PARTICULAR QUESTION. This takes political line and severs it from the program of the party, relegates it to what one thinks rather than what one does. Political line is the sum total of tasks in the working class movement needed to move forward to the ultimate goal of communism. Within this sum total of tasks the grasp of the true nature of the relationship between the central task and the ultimate goal will be decisive in determining the correct priority, content, and character of all other tasks. That is why the incorrect "left" line on party building has led to an opportunist deviation on other questions facing the working class movement. A further vulgarization

of this is the simple confusion of political line with program - without grasping that the political line flows out of the program. That is why in the absence of a program, political line cannot possibly be the key link.

These, as well as the failure to distinguish contradictions among the people from contradictions between the people and their enemies, the emphasis on polemics, the failure to take up agitation, the failure to follow a policy of industrial and political concentration, the lack of attention to questions of program - all reflect this "left"-opportunist trend which must be summed up, exposed, and repudiated in order to advance toward the formation of a genuine vanguard communist party.

MOBILIZATION TO EXPOSE OPPORTUNISM

This report from the Central Committee briefly summed up the major repudiation of the "left" line which existed in the MLOC and the working class movement as a whole. To make a clean break with opportunism - right and "left" opportunism - to grasp how "left" opportunism so easily becomes right, requires further summations and self-criticism to get to the

ideological source and the political and organizational manifestations of this line. This will be taken up further in the future issues of UNITE. But what is most important, is the rectification of this "left" line - not only in the MLOC, BUT IN THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT.

Within the MLOC, rectification requires the mobilization of the cadre to mobilize the masses, to rout and expose, ideologically and politically, this "left" opportunist trend.

The program, tactics, and organization of this infantile "leftism", of this Trotskyite trend, has been wholly condemned by the experience of history.

DEFEAT THE ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS

In the past, the MLOC has underestimated the harm and the damage that this reactionary line has wrought. The harm caused by the unprincipled nature of this trend is clearly visible in the working class movement, perhaps the starkest expression of which has been the wrecking of the African Liberation Support Committee by the RWL and now its once-upon-a-time bedfellow, the Workers Viewpoint Organization.

While it is true that this "left" bloc, the so-called "revolutionary wing" does not have a considerable following among the masses, what is important is not the strength of their following, but the essence of the viewpoint.

This "left" opportunist trend is a real enemy of the international proletariat, and of the historic development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Real struggle must be waged against real enemies. That the MLOC has not shouldered this responsibility to the working class up to this point is a measure of the extent to which the MLOC has itself been infected by the foul teachings of this "left" bloc.

The cornerstone of our difference with this "left"-opportunist trend is a question of the relationship of the party to the masses, and the party to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The cornerstone of the "left" opportunist trend is the stand of the petty-bourgeoisie in the working class movement, the stand of the individual. Their cry is "everything for our party".

The cornerstone of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the proletariat. Our cry is "everything for the masses".

Synopsis Of The History Of The CPSU(B)

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS)

STALIN History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)

Written by J. V. Stalin, edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B), this book was first published in 1938. It makes available the experience and the lessons of the successful fight for socialism of the working people of the Soviet Union.

It shows how the teachings of Marxism were applied and carried into practice in the struggle for socialism and how they were further developed by Lenin and Stalin in the course of that struggle.

It therefore introduces us to the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism, showing how to apply and develop them in practice, and how to fight for them. And it arms us with knowledge of the laws of social development, confirming our certainty of the victory of communism throughout the world.

The *History of the CPSU (B)* may be roughly divided into four periods -

A. *From the Foundation of the Party to the First Russian Revolution of 1905-7*

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 deal with the period up to and including the First Russian Revolution of 1905-7.

Here we learn, first, of the rise of the industrial working class in Russia and of Lenin's struggle for the formation of a working class party. This struggle involved

- (a) The fight for the fundamental ideas of Marxism against the "populists" (Narodism), who denied that the workers must play the leading part in the revolution.
- (b) The fight against opportunism in the working class movement.

In the struggle first against the 'economists', who thought the workers should confine themselves to economic demands and not wage a political struggle, and then against the Mensheviks, who wanted to turn the working class party into an opportunist social democratic party of the West European type, Lenin established the principles of the working class party of a new type.

In the First Russian Revolution which broke out in 1905 the Bolsheviks showed how to give leadership to the mass movement of the working class. In opposition to the Mensheviks who wanted to hold back the rising mass movement of the workers, Lenin and the Bolsheviks showed that the workers in alliance with the peasants must rise in revolt against Tsarism, overthrow it and clear the way for socialism.

What are the principal points we can learn about from the study of these chapters of the *History of the CPSU (B)*?

- 1 The fundamental teachings of Marxism on the growth of the working class and its struggle, and the role of the working class in the fight for socialism.
- 2 The relation of the economic with the political struggle of the working class, the tasks of political leadership, and the necessity to fight against the 'economist' or narrow trade union type of reformism in the working class movement.
- 3 The political and organisational principles of the working class party of a new type.
- 4 The distinction and relationship of the bourgeois and the socialist revolution, and the leading role of the working class in the bourgeois revolution and in passing over from the bourgeois to the socialist revolution.
- 5 The strategic principles of working class struggle—uniting with all possible allies against the main enemy and isolating the compromising parties.
- 6 The mass political strike as a revolutionary weapon of the working class.

B. *The Period of Reaction and of the New Rise of the Working Class Movement, 1905-14*

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the period of reaction which followed the defeat of the 1905-7 Revolution, and with the new rise of the working class movement before the First Imperialist War (1914).

After the defeat of the revolution the Bolsheviks showed how to retreat in good order how to regroup the forces of the working class, how to combine legal with illegal work and to prepare for a new offensive against the landlords and capitalists. In this they had to fight traitors and opportunists of all kinds and above all the 'liquidators' who wanted to abandon all efforts to preserve the illegal organisation of the party.

At the same time, a number of intellectuals began a campaign to revise the fundamental ideas of Marxism in the light of the 'latest' thing in bourgeois idealism. It was against them that Lenin in this period wrote his book *Materialism and Empirio Criticism*, and in dealing with this, the *History of the CPSU (B)* contains a classical exposition of the basic ideas of dialectical and historical materialism.

In this period, the Bolsheviks expelled the Mensheviks from the party and constituted themselves an independent Marxist Party (1912). The Bolshevik Party was able to extend its mass connections with the workers, to take the lead of the new struggles which were developing, to establish a mass daily newspaper (*Pravda*), and to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agitation through the Tsarist Duma.

What are the principal points taught by the study of these chapters?

- 1 How to retreat in good order after a defeat, regrouping forces, preserving the illegal organisation of the party and combining legal with illegal work.

- 2 The necessity of preserving the organisation of the party, fighting against liquidationist tendencies, purging the party of opportunist elements and constituting an independent Marxist party of the working class.

- 3 The necessity to preserve intact, defend and develop the theoretical foundation of the party—dialectical and historical materialism.

- 4 How the party can extend its mass connections with the working class and take the lead of rising working class struggle.

- 5 How the party can carry forward the working class struggle in a reactionary parliament.

- 6 The role of a daily newspaper as leader and organiser of the mass movement.

C. *The Imperialist War and the Victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, 1914-21*

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 deal with the period of the imperialist war, the revolutions of February and October 1917, and with the foreign military intervention and civil war.

In the imperialist war Lenin exposed the social democrats who sided with "their own" imperialist governments made his profound analysis of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, and advanced the slogan—turn the imperialist war into civil war.

In February 1917 soviets (elected councils of working people) were set up, the Tsar was overthrown by a mass uprising, and a provisional government was formed with the backing of the capitalists and bankers. Lenin in his *April Theses* declared that the task was to pass straight on to the socialist stage of the revolution, which must place power in the hands of the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry.

The whole gigantic experience of the proletarian revolution of 1917 is set forth and analysed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 deals with the civil war and intervention, and makes clear why the workers and peasants won.

What, then, are the principal points we learn about from the study of these chapters?

- 1 The policy of the working class in relation to war.
- 2 The nature of imperialism and the special features of the era of imperialism, the law of uneven development, and the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country.
- 3 The fight against social chauvinism, i.e. against support of "one's own" imperialism in an imperialist war.
- 4 The strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party in the victorious October Revolution.
- 5 The international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

D. *The Building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., 1921-36*

Chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 tell how socialism was built in the U.S.S.R. It was built in ceaseless struggle against internal and external enemies.

Chapter 9 deals with the period of the transition from civil war to peaceful economic restoration—the New Economic Policy.

Chapter 10 deals with socialist industrialisation.

Chapter 11 deals with the collectivisation of agriculture.

Chapter 12 deals with the struggle to complete the building of socialist society, which was crowned with the new Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in 1936.

With that the building of socialist society in the U.S.S.R.—a society without exploitation of man by man—was completed. The Soviet people began their new advance from socialism to communism.

What are the principal points we learn about from the study of these chapters?

- 1 The significance of the New Economic Policy, as the policy by which the working class, in command of the state and of the key positions of economy, is able to lead the whole national economy towards socialism.
- 2 The alliance of the workers and peasants as an integral feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- 3 The path of socialist industrialisation.
- 4 The path of collectivisation of agriculture and of the elimination of the last exploiting class, the kulaks or capitalist farmers, in the countryside.
- 5 The development of the international situation after the October Socialist Revolution, and the relations between the land of socialism and the capitalist world.
- 6 The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and its expression in the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

At the end of the book the chief conclusions to be drawn from the work and experience of the Bolshevik Party are listed. They are:

- 1 The victory of the working class is impossible without a revolutionary working class party.
- 2 This party must master the theory of Marxism-Leninism.
- 3 The victory of the working class is impossible unless alien tendencies within the ranks of the working class are defeated.
- 4 The party must wage an uncompromising struggle against opportunists and capitulators in its own ranks.
- 5 The party cannot lead the class unless it is ready to criticise defects in its own work, to acknowledge and correct its own mistakes.
- 6 The party cannot lead the class unless it constantly strengthens its connections with the masses and is ready not only to teach the masses but to learn from them.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON PREGNANCY:

An Attack On The Working Class

The Supreme Court ruling on non-payment of disability for pregnancy passed in early December, 1976, represents a drastic step on the part of the U.S. bourgeoisie to consolidate the double oppression and exploitation of working class women. The decision, which overturned rulings favorable to women in similar cases on the state and local levels, declares that private employers are not required to grant disability payments to women workers because of pregnancy.

This case originated in a General Electric plant in Salem, Va., in which a large number of women are employed, as is the case in the electronics industry across the country. General Electric does not allow disability payment for pregnancy, while its plan does pay for other disabilities determined by sex, such as prostatectomies, vasectomies, and circumcision. However, both G.E. and the Supreme Court ruled that the lack of coverage for pregnancy was due to the type of disability and its cost, and not because it only affected women.

Trade unions and working women across the country who have struggled to end discriminatory practices against women on the job, and who fought to ensure job security and payment during pregnancy on a national scale received a stab in the back from the Supreme Court, which declared that payment for pregnancy would allow special compensation for these tasks performed in the private household, over and above that which menate household, are the primary obstacle to women finding work and making social contact with other members of their class. These are some of the material conditions which actually hinder women's ability to fight for the working class.

Every working woman has filled out countless job applications or had interviews which included a "Women Only" section, questioning her about the contraceptives she uses, whether she is pregnant, and if she is planning on becoming pregnant. Women who have children are often lucky to get a job at all, because employers expect them to be called away from work continually

for a sick child and therefore be unreliable. More often than not the interviewer will question a woman thoroughly about the dependability of her childcare before even considering hiring her and hold this over her head if she ever misses work.

Working women who consider having children are at the mercy of the individual company that employs them. What about the company where you work? If a woman becomes pregnant, will her time off be with pay, without pay, or will she lose her job?

It is obvious that the capitalist system does nothing to relieve the burden of the working woman, who is also a wife and a mother. This is because capitalism needs to keep women in a secondary and degraded position in society in order to keep itself afloat. Capitalism gains when it keeps women's positions, wages, and status on the job lower than men's. This not only creates contradictions between the men and women workers, but also allows the capitalists to lower the conditions and standard of living of the working class as a whole.

Capitalism gains by keeping household and childcare as private family responsibilities. This keeps capitalism from having to take responsibility for these tasks through socialized production, and in fact ensures that the next generation of workers are produced at the lowest possible cost. At the same time, workers are produced in the private household, are the primary obstacle to women finding work and making social contact with other members of their class. These are some of the material conditions which actually hinder women's ability to fight for the working class. Take a look around you at the women in your plant, or at your friends and family, or yourself. How many of them work a full 40 hour week and then take full responsibility for childcare, shopping, cooking, and laundry at home?

Capitalism tries its hardest to make these conditions seem natural,

for the emancipation of the class demands communist leadership, not 'assistance'.

On the question of assistance, we remind the O.L. of Lenin's famous passage cited in a fine collection recently published by the October League, V I. LENIN ON BUILDING THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY, p. 8, taken from "Draft and Explanation of a Program for the Social Democratic Party", Collected Works, Vol.

"The Russian Social Democratic Party declares that its aim is to assist this struggle of the Russian working class by developing the class consciousness of the workers, by promoting their organization, and by indicating the aims and objectives of the struggle."

In this case, it is clear that if the O.L. had any motive in mind other than the purposeful distortion and misrepresentation of the line of the MLOC they would have quoted the remainder of the paragraph in which we ourselves refer to such assistance, and in which we clearly state that the party "assists" the working class by (a) developing its class consciousness, (b) developing the party organization itself, and (c) by indicating the real aims of the movement (UNITE, Vol. 2, #3, p. 10).

It is ironic that this particular "criticism" should come from the O.L. since the main criticism presented by the MLOC was precisely that they themselves have consistently failed to bring socialism to the working class movement and to



easy, and even fun for women. Television continuously promotes the career woman in both programs and commercials, like the Campbell's Soup ad where "Mom" sings while fixing lunch for her kids. "Liberal" women's magazines like MS. and WORKING WOMEN show the working woman (usually career-secretaries and business executives) wearing a "designer classic" while taking Billy to school.

These are not the answers! These are not even minor alternatives to capitalist society. Capitalism internationally proclaims equality among men and women. But nowhere, not in any capitalist country, are there laws prohibiting domestic slavery or means to overcoming it.

With the recent Supreme Court decision, U.S. imperialism has gone a step further. The usual method of keeping women locked into private households through social and cultural pressure has been consolidated into a federal law the law which does not require that maternity be considered a disability, the law which consolidates maternity as a private responsibility.

This decision by the ruling ap-

actually provide the leadership which they so loudly defend in words.

Still further on this unprincipled road, the O.L. in the October 25, November 22, December 20 and 27 issues of THE CALL, characterize the MLOC as "modern day Mensheviks", "opportunists", and other such slurs. Not once, in this flurry of assault, does the O.L. bother to explain carefully and patiently to the working class movement and the MLOC, the basis of this conclusion.

From all of this we must conclude that the O.L. does not think it necessary to explain to the workers the basis either for its sudden changes in line or for its statements against the MLOC. We must also conclude that they are not interested in seeking to resolve differences.

For the part of the MLOC, we recognize that in the struggle with the O.L., we have made mistakes. But the unprincipled activity of the O.L. is far from Marxist-Leninist criticism.

We recognize that in the protracted course of the class struggle, many things will change. Including, perhaps, the line of the MLOC and the O.L. Changes in line will occur. This is not the point.

But what is more to the matter, when we speak of who will carry the red flag of Leninism in the working class movement, is the vile unprincipled nature of the activity of the October League, and their complete resort to insinuation, slurs, and slander rather than an objective presentation of facts.

We have little doubt why the O.L.

paratus of US imperialism is an attack on the working class in another way. The hard won gains of the Civil Rights Act have been distorted and manipulated to rob the class of its rights, to turn sections of the class against each other, and to benefit the capitalists. As a result, today, in order for the Supreme Court decision on pregnancy to be changed, the Civil Rights Act would also have to be revised.

Real democracy will never be ours as long as the bourgeoisie holds state power and the law of the land is private wealth. There can be no equality on the basis of profit for one class at the expense of another.

The working class must continue and strengthen its struggle against the exploitation and oppression of women. This struggle must be directed at freeing women from their place in the household by demanding childcare and maternity benefits. Women must be freed to take an active part in the struggle for a socialist society, the only society which can lay a real basis for women's emancipation.

refuses to deal with the facts. For as Engels pointed out, the facts are stubborn things.

What Marxist-Leninists and militant workers have seen from the O.L. in the course of the last twelve months is a serious disregard for the development of a genuine vanguard party. There can be no mutual trust when the O.L. resorts to such unprincipled, infantile forms of struggle. More and more, with the recent forums of the October League, the sham formation of collectives to join the Organizing Committee which simply recruit into the O.L., the O.L. criticism of the book by Marty Nicholas, THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THE USSR, as if it were not the O.L. itself which published and promoted this incorrect analysis of the restoration of capitalism -- these and other such activities can never carry the flag of a vanguard communist party, and most certainly will never win the trust and confidence of the masses.

That is why we once again call upon the honest cadres of the O.L. to cast aside such infantile forms, state your differences with other Marxist-Leninists in an objective, clear, and mature form, and let's get down to working out the differences in the interests of the working class movement. This is the essence of the "unity trend" which the O.L. is so fond of raising -- yet which the O.L. has failed to live up to.

This is what the working class movement demands.

This is what the October League has failed to offer.

OL LETTER

criticism of the O.L.'s Organizing Committee

On August 16, 1977, THE CALL, organ of the October League, issued a series of slanders and accusations against the MLOC without any evidence or proof of such claims. This polemic, if it can be so called, contained virtually no discussion of substantial differences in line, but instead raised such statements as:

-That the MLOC's line is that "no party congress or party organization can be spoken of until we go through a joint stage of program writing" (p. 6). This was never stated by the MLOC and we ask the O.L. to point out this position.

-That the MLOC received a "special invitation to join in the efforts" to form an Organizing Committee.

This never occurred, and the MLOC, as other organizations, were not informed of these "efforts".

-That the MLOC "tried to smash the upcoming celebrations of China national day" (p. 7). This accusation never brought to light a single fact of the matter, nor spoke to the important political differences between the activities planned by the O.L. in October and those conducted by the MLOC.

-Stated that "the MLOC leaders have a long history of unprincipled splits behind them". Such accusations require at least some shred of fact in substantiation.

Continuing on such a path, the O.L. then proceeds to directly attack Lenin by stating that, "the fight

ELECTIONS NO SOLUTION FOR STEELWORKERS



As the fierce cold this winter has been used by steel barons to lay off tens of thousands of steel workers, one question remains a hot issue for steelworkers: Will Ed Sadlowski beat Lloyd McBride for President of the United Steel Workers of America on February 8th? Few labor elections in recent years have been carried on with so much furor internally and with so much attention paid to it externally as this USW election.

Within the Union bitter clashes have occurred between Sadlowski and McBride forces. Sadlowski supporters have been shot and beaten up. Charges and countercharges continue to fly. The handling of the election procedure itself is just one more reflection of how the labor bureaucrats have gained control of this huge industrial union.

Local 1397 at Homestead, Pa., has some 6,000 workers. Mostly industrial workers, they voted to nominate Sadlowski. However, Local 3036, an office and technical employee local at Homestead has about 600 members and they voted for McBride. Each local's nomination counts the same. In this way, the nominations of smaller locals and salaried employees carry the same or more weight as non-salaried employees.

Even against such odds, Sadlowski has made some headway, though almost exclusively among the industrial workers of the union. The clear exception is that many workers in Sadlowski's own district have refused to support him because of what they see as his neglect of union duties.

The present union hacks have done all they can to insure a McBride victory. I W Abel, outgoing president in June, threatened to resign if Sadlowski won the February 8th election, with the implied threat of handing union negotiations over to an inexperienced team. Amid all the heat and fury of this campaign, the *real issues* have been covered up. And this is clearly the aim of both Sadlowski and McBride -- who seek to avoid the necessity to defend the genuine interests of the workers.

CONTRACTS UP IN AUGUST

All basic contracts of the USW expire August 1st. Bargaining in basic steel begins on February 14th in Washington. If issues are not resolved by April 20, the contracts go to the arbitrator. These negotiations will be conducted under the terms of the ENA pact made in 1974. Among the issues coming up are income security, shorter work week, lifetime job security and guaranteed wages.

Both Sadlowski and McBride claim the need for a change. These claims have spread way beyond the pages of *Steel Labor* and the plant gates, and have attracted widespread attention.

ELECTIONS NO SOLUTION

But in the closing days of the campaign, as both candidates feverishly peddle their wares, one thing is certain: *Whatever the outcome of the election, this election will not settle the question of whether or not the USWA will continue to be saddled by bureaucrats or whether power within the union will be retaken by the rank-and-file.* The choice between Lloyd McBride and Ed Sadlowski is NOT a choice between bureaucratic control and rank-and-file control. Both candidates represent the interests of the capitalists, but simply in two different ways.

Lloyd McBride has attempted to present the campaign as a question of "the USW against the outsiders" (either the "limousine liberals" or the "communists and



Lloyd McBride

activists") while offering more of the same collaboration with the real outsiders, the capitalist class, that Abel has championed. Ed Sadlowski has presented the campaign as a struggle of "democracy versus bureaucracy", and has promised more of a say in "how the pie is cut up", but not in the least does he question the filling of the "pie", the capitalist system which has brought steelworkers to the crisis they now face.

The supposed "insurgent" character of Sadlowski's candidacy has set the tone for his election campaign. While claiming to recognize the class nature of the struggle in the union, he has capitalized on the dissatisfaction of steelworkers and has put himself forward as the candidate for "change". But what does he have to say about this class struggle, and how does he see the necessary changes coming about?

Sadlowski's "Message to Steelworkers and Their Families" (mailed to all members of the USW in January) ends with these words:

"We are confident that steelworkers will vote to return our union to the membership it was organized to serve. We think the choice is clear. An opportunity to choose does not come often."

These words reveal the true class nature of the Sadlowski campaign and points to the fact that any "fight back" Sadlowski has, or will put up, is guaranteed to stay strictly within the bounds of the capitalist system.

The lessons of history of the international working class movement have clearly shown two things: (1) *That the issue of whether the rank-and-file or a bureaucratic machine will control a union - any union - is NEVER settled by an election.* (2) *That the opportunity to settle that issue is not something that only comes along every few years or whenever a couple of candidates with "fairly sharp differences of opinion" come forward to run for office.* That opportunity, rather, is the very meat and bones, the heart and soul, of the day-to-day struggles of the union, or of any truly working class organization. While Sadlowski sees elections as the basis for the struggle against the union bureaucrats, experience has proven that elections can only have their full significance for workers as one part of the over-all struggle of the class for its economic and political emancipation.

BUILD THE RANK-AND-FILE, NOT THE REFORMERS

What, then, do we do about the present elections?

We certainly do not sit back, as some have urged, and simply boycott the election. While Sadlowski is just one more union bureaucrat with a popular calling card, the program that Sadlowski has

been forced to adopt in order to challenge the Abel/McBride machine objectively stands for greater union democracy. *While reformists like Sadlowski must be dealt with critically and exposed for what they are, we must support any move toward the extension of democracy that allows class-conscious workers to work towards a greater fighting capacity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.* To the extent to which Sadlowski objectively assists the struggle for union democracy he should be supported. Steelworkers should vote for Sadlowski. But what must be built is not Sadlowski as a candidate but the consciousness and organization of steelworkers.

The choice before us is not one of either mobilizing our forces in unconditional support of Sadlowski or of sitting on our hands and doing nothing. Our goal and our work is to raise the level of struggle against both the capitalists and the union bureaucrats and to turn the USWA into a fighting organization of and for the working class. In this struggle to bring the union under working class control, elections can only serve as a gauge of the success of our struggle throughout the union. They are not the starting point, and election victories are certainly not the aim of our struggles.



Ed Sadlowski

Sadlowski may be the "lesser of two evils" insofar as he may actually serve to prepare the necessary conditions for a real mass fight against the ENA, for better wages, for job security and safe working conditions, and for real equality on the job. It is clear that McBride will not prepare the conditions for such a struggle. But as the working class drive for socialism grows we will undoubtedly have to fight Sadlowski just as we have fought Abel and McBride before him.

POLITICAL AGREEMENTS WITH LABOR LIEUTENANTS

At times we should and will, in the interests of furthering the aims of the working class, reach agreements with bureaucratic forces within the unions on the basis of their stand on particular issues, specific questions and events. But in making these agreements we must be assured of the ability and opportunity to criticize these bureaucrats, to expose them as objectively agents of capitalism at the same time that we bring to light, explain, and develop further anything that they do which serves the interests of the class. Our aim is not to attach ourselves slavishly to reformist messiahs, to shut our eyes and the eyes of the masses of workers in the hope that something good will come of it.

OUR TASKS

Our task is to sever completely the ties and the influence which these bureaucrats have within our own ranks. This task demands that the proletariat organize its own party armed with the most advanced understanding of the class struggle and capable of providing the ideological and

political leadership required for successful revolutionary struggle. It demands the establishment of an unshakeable network of nuclei within the factories, impregnable to the attacks of the capitalists while able to react consistently and immediately to every need of the class, at the workplace where it counts. It demands, in general, a level of consciousness and organization among steelworkers which will allow us to maintain our independence and initiative under any circumstances, either of political alliance and compromise, or the hottest all-out struggle.

DISCARD REFORMERS AND REVISIONISTS

These conditions do not yet exist within the USWA, or within any major union. Those forces, such as the "Communist" Party, USA, or the Revolutionary "Communist" Party (neither of which is the least bit communist or revolutionary), who ignore this fact and who call for total commitment to the Sadlowski Fight Back campaign have turned their backs on the working class and the cause of the socialist revolution and, under the guise of aiding the working class, have attempted to deny the working class those very things which are necessary for the achievement of its goals.

Our aim is to seize power away from the capitalist class as the only means by which capitalism as a system can be smashed and eliminated once and for all. The seizure of power away from the bureaucrats in control of our unions is a crucial step in this direction because the trade unions as the broadest organizations of the class, organized around the day-to-day needs of workers, will necessarily play an essential role in the over-all struggle of the class for emancipation. But the capture of political power, either in our unions or in society as a whole, cannot happen peacefully through reforms, or through elections. The capitalist class will never allow anyone to take away its power to squeeze profits out of the working class - not without a tooth-and-nail fight.

Anyone who knows the history of struggle in the USWA knows that... Neither will the bureaucrats give up their privileges and power by simply stepping down after an election. *The power of the bureaucrats must be broken on the shop floor and throughout the day-to-day life of the union before any real victory can be scored against them in elections.* The power of the capitalist class will only be broken by the resolute struggle of the masses of workers themselves, not by labor politicians who claim to act in behalf of workers. These struggles require class-conscious leadership that emerges from the class struggle itself, leadership that spreads no illusions about "reforming" capitalism - and neither the old bureaucrats like Lloyd McBride nor "new" ones like Ed Sadlowski fill the bill.

BUILD A VANGUARD COMMUNIST PARTY!

BUILD THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE RANK-AND-FILE!

REMOVE FROM UNION OFFICE ALL WHO SPREAD THE CAPITALIST WAY OF THINKING AMONG WORKERS!

TURN THE USWA INTO A FIGHTING ORGANIZATION FOR THE WORKING CLASS!

CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

SACRIFICES YOUTH

Today in the U S , as in most advanced industrial countries, unemployment is burdening the shoulders of the country's young people. Unemployment for men and women age 16 to 22 averages 18%, but is as high as 40% for Black youth.

For much of the working class youth, a college education is entirely out of the question, and a large number of them are not even able to finish high school. Among the poorest sections of the working class, families cannot afford to have children in school when they could be working, or providing childcare for younger brothers and sisters, so their parents could work.

Men and women who are able to get high school or college educations are only kept out of the unemployment lines for a few years longer, for their diplomas and degrees count for little in the tight US job market.

Many young people are forced to turn to crime, either directly out of economic necessity, or because of their "useless" position in society too old to be baby-sat in schools and too young to have work experience, skills, or a job. Capitalism furnishes youth with diversions such as alcohol and drugs, which leads them further away from recognizing the source of their problems, and closer to a jail sentence. In New York City, the problem of crime among teenagers has become acute with old men and women becoming the target for robbery. In this city more police are being specially trained to "handle the problem".

Philadelphia's answer to the drug problem is a program which would give Heroin free to addicts "so that they will not have to resort to crime in order to buy it".



But more police and free heroin are not the answer for the problems of young people in a capitalist country. They are the means to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class, means to keep working men, women, and children of all nationalities from fighting for their rights.

Capitalism in crisis has sacrificed its youth. In comparison with the National Administration budget of the 1930's, which was 7% of the federal budget, the U S today spends less than 1% on programs for youth. Many smaller business have closed down as a result of tightening economic conditions in the U S , ending one large source of job training and work study programs for young people.

Capitalism takes no responsibility on a social scale for working class youth, whose basic purpose to the capitalists is as labor power. When capitalism needed small hands to run machinery, children were demanded, for they could be paid the least. When capitalism needed small, limber bodies to squeeze in and out of mine shafts, children left school at 6 years of age to work. And when the bourgeoisie waged their imperialist war in Southeast Asia, they sent thousands of young working class men to fight for them.

Today when the entire economic and political system of the bourgeoisie is collapsing, jobless working class youth present a problem that capitalism cannot answer.

Only the socialist countries have shown that young and old people need not be a burden on society. In both China and Albania, young people are honored and prized for their tireless work in helping to build the new socialist society. Lenin laid stress on the mastering of science by the Soviet youth, so as to be the best builders of their country. The Party of Labor of Albania had faith enough in the Albanian youth to build the Albanian Communist Youth Organization only fifteen days after the founding of the Party itself. This same organization, now called the Albanian Working Youth Union exists today and takes an ever stronger role in the carrying out of the line of the Party. In socialist society the youth are treasured because they are the successors to the revolution.

Young people in the U S also must be recognized as a powerful reserve and loyal aide of the communist party. The working class movement cannot sacrifice its own youth as does the capitalist society. We must be especially vigilant to guide them away from the increasingly fascist culture that is directed at them, (such as Pat Boone's cultural organization, UP WITH PEOPLE) differing only slightly from the cultural clubs and youth organizations of Nazi Germany, or in Hungary prior to the counter-revolution in 1957.

Today in the U S , we must enlist the help of the proletarian youth in the struggle of the working class against imperialism. Young men and women need education and organization, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism. The working class movement needs their energy and abilities to carry through the revolution.

CALHOUNE MURDER: Whitewash In Mississippi

"Mississippi justice" stands out in the minds of many as a symbol of the fascist oppression of the Black Nation in the southern part of the U S , and of the plight of all Black Americans. In the lush Mississippi Delta area, it is hard to find the "New South" that Jimmy Carter applauds.

In the last issue of UNITE, we reported how sixteen-year old James Edward Calhoun had been found murdered, floating face down in the Sunflower River, Sunflower County, Mississippi, on September 8, 1976. We also reported that Terry Barr, white and 24 years old, had been charged with Calhoun's murder. But now, based upon further investigation, a different picture begins to emerge -- a picture of classic Ku Klux Klan terror and violence, a picture Jimmy Carter chooses to ignore from the White House.

James Calhoun was probably not killed by one lone man. A large, strong, athletic youth, he was known for his ability to take care of himself, and would not have submitted to anyone easily. Terry Barr has direct connections with the police department in Cleveland, Miss , the town where Calhoun was last seen alive. All requests for autopsy reports and for investigations by the Miss governor's office, made by investigators and lawyers working on the case have been ignored.

A sketch of the events of the night of the disappearance will help tie seemingly disconnected facts together. At around 11 P M , James Calhoun left a movie that was playing in Cleveland, Miss , to go home. Witnesses reported that at about 11 10, as he was walking by a private nightclub, Terry Barr's wife called to him to come over. When he approached the club, he was pulled inside.

TYLER FIGHT CONTINUES

On January 24, the Louisiana Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Gary Tyler, accused of shooting 13-year old Timothy Weber, during a confrontation over busing at Destrehan, La.

The defense based its appeal on the fact that one of the key prosecution witnesses, Natalie Blank, a schoolmate of Tyler's, had admitted that she was forced to give testimony against Tyler by the police threatening her with imprisonment. She has since changed her testimony.

In upholding the conviction, the court, at the same time, reduced Tyler's sentence from the death penalty to imprisonment at hard labor for life. The court also stated that Gary would not be eligible for parole, probation, or suspension of sentence for 20 years. Tyler was just 15 years old at the time of his arrest in October, 1974.

With the rejection of this appeal the next step in the legal attempt to free Gary Tyler will be the U.S. Supreme Court. Despite mass support and the clear proof of the facts of the case, Gary Tyler is being used as an example to the Black Nation of the intention of the imperialist bourgeoisie to eliminate any resistance to national oppression.

Support for Gary Tyler is support for the interests of the Black Nation, and for socialist revolution, by exposing the roots of national oppression and the role of the capitalist state. More money will be needed to further Gary Tyler's cause, the cause of all working people against oppression and exploitation.

Please send all contributions to: PEOPLE'S DEFENSE COALITION TO FREE GARY TYLER, P.O. Box 52465, New Orleans, Louisiana, 70152.

Terry Barr, who was trying to get a job on the local police force worked as a "bouncer" in the nightclub. Local papers at first stated that Mrs. Barr called police about what was going on at the club. Yet later editions only listed this call as being from an "unidentified source".

James Calhoun was later found floating in the Sunflower River, beaten, his neck broken, shot through the head with his hands tied behind him. No one but Terry Barr has been indicted for this brutal lynching, even though these various facts clearly point to the conclusion that a group of brutal, reactionary "night-riders" murdered young James Edward Calhoun.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION

The Mississippi Delta region, as with many other parts of the oppressed Black Nation, has a long history of brutal Ku Klux Klan terror, as visited upon James Edward Calhoun. This terror is not only sanctioned by the state of Mississippi and the federal government but promoted. In New Orleans, not far from the Delta area, the Ku Klux Klan bookstore is located directly behind a major she-riffs' station -- and on a clear day you don't have to see forever to notice the traffic between the two.

The state of Mississippi has failed to conduct any genuine investigation into the facts we have presented here, and has failed completely to follow the course of due process of law. For example, when

appeals were made to Gov. Cliff Finch's office to call in the state forensic pathologist to investigate Calhoun's death, it was discovered that throughout his term of office, Finch has failed to even appoint someone to fill this post. This is vital, because without such a position filled it prevents any medical investigation of the cause of death in a homicide and other similar cases.

Terry Barr is scheduled to go to trial on February 15, 1977. As the case stands now, it appears highly unlikely that the real murderers of Calhoun will be brought to trial. At the same time, in Calhoun's hometown, a clamp of terror and intimidation exists which prevents many from speaking out or looking into this matter. In Mississippi, few have any illusions about the so-called "equal justice under the law". Where Calhoun is from justice for the working class comes at the end of a rope late at night.

Even with these conditions, resistance is developing against the whitewashing of this case. Calls are being heard in Mississippi for an investigation. Because the Klan continues to ride at night, and in the courts, the masses of Black and oppressed people must prepare themselves mentally and materially to combat this terror and continue to struggle for their rights.

BRING ALL THE MURDERERS OF CALHOUNE TO TRIAL!

DEATH TO THE KLAN AND ALL FASCIST REACTION!

SELF-DETERMINATION UP TO AND INCLUDING SECESSION FOR THE BLACK NATION!



National Oppression & RESISTANCE!

HEALTH: IMPERIALISM

AND THE BLACK BELT SOUTH

-----One month ago a young Black woman entered a general hospital in the Mississippi Delta, the heart of the Black Belt South. This was her second pregnancy. Her child was due. She was in active labor. Three hours later her private general practitioner discharged her from the hospital. She was still in labor. He had taken care of her throughout her pregnancy, but she hadn't paid his fee. *Who knows where this woman delivered or under what circumstances? Who knows if she and her newborn child are still alive, or became "just" another statistic?*

-----One month ago a young Black male entered the emergency room of the same Delta general hospital. He had just been in an auto accident. He was unconscious. He had a skull fracture. The white neurosurgeon refused to come see or admit the patient to the hospital. The white neurosurgeon suggested that the child be sent to Jackson, Mississippi or Memphis, Tennessee, a drive of 2½ to 4 hours. *Who knows if this child is still alive?*

In no way are these "exceptional" or rare instances. On the contrary, they are a way of life in the Black Belt South. Black and working people wake up in the morning and fall off into troubled sleep at night with these tragedies. Casual conversation brings forth numerous personal examples. Daily, similar health casualties are carried into the emergency room at this hospital.

IMPERIALISM AND SEMI-SLAVERY ARE THE PROBLEMS

Nor are these two incidents "bad luck" or "god's way." It is rather the exploitation of imperialism and semi-slavery, superimposed one on the other, which systematically and inevitably brutalize the health of the Black masses and multinational working class in the Black Belt South. These two incidents are concrete results of this exploitation and oppression.

Both imperialism and semi-slavery result in productive backwardness in the Black Belt South. Imperialist reaction, and the failure of the bourgeois democratic revolution are the root causes of all economic, political and social problems in the Black Belt South. The lack of equal and quality health care grows directly from this root, as do poverty, illiteracy, poor housing, etc. Poor health care is not "caused by" poverty or unemployment as bourgeois, Southern aristocratic, and revisionist propaganda would deceive us. Rather, poor health care grows up "alongside" poverty and unemployment.

The manifestations of imperialism and semi-slavery are easily seen, and their effects on health care in the eleven southern states, taken as a whole, are simply shown. In the United States, as a whole, there are 128 patient-care doctors for every 100,000 population. As a whole, the eleven southern states have significantly less: 101 patient care doctors per 100,000 population. South Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi rank the lowest in patient care doctors counting all the states---46th, 47th, 48th, 50th respectively.

Infant mortality rates are internationally recognized as overall measurement of quality in health care. The rate gives the number of babies who die in their first year of life for every 1000 babies born alive. For the entire United States population the rate is 19.8

That means that in every 1000 babies born alive, almost 20 will die before the age of one. For the Southern population, this rate is higher in every state. From Virginia with a rate of 20.8 to Mississippi with a rate of 26.6. In 1971 if the Southern rates had been as low as the rest of the country, 2,383 babies would not have died.

Imperialism and semi-slavery devastate the health of the Black Nation. Infant mortality rates for Black people vary from 28.7 in Louisiana to 36 in Mississippi. In 1971, if the Black rates had been as low as the rest of the country, 3,408 Black babies would have lived to see their first birthday.

But these statistics, gathered by the bourgeoisie cover up the real ravages of imperialism and semi-slavery: no class distinctions are made. The low rates of the rich are averaged in with the high rates of working and oppressed peoples, in order to cover up. In addition, countless numbers of deaths occur which don't even reach the attention of bourgeois authorities in order to get into official statistics. In reality, the rates for the multinational working class and oppressed people are even higher than the rates given here. Also, these statistics make it seem like the problem is geographic. That is, the statistics show a difference in the South, as "states", compared to the rest of the United States as a "country." These statistics are not clear, and pose the problems as ones between the North and the South, Yankees and Confederates. This suits the imperialist bourgeoisie, Southern landed aristocracy, and revisionists just fine. But really, the figures show poor health in the region of Southern states, compared to the rest of the United States, chiefly because there is an exploited and oppressed Black Nation in the Black Belt in the Southern states. Semi-slavery and imperialism exploit and oppress the Black Nation in the Black Belt. *This results in poor health concentrated in, but not limited to, the Black Belt South.* As we will see later, semi-slavery and imperialism also cause poor health for the entire multinational working class in the Black Belt South.

HEALTH AND THE BLACK NATION

Let's look at the Delta in Mississippi. This is the heart of the Black Belt South. It comprises part of the common territory of the Black Nation. Here the destruction of the Black masses' health by semi-slavery and imperialist exploitation is most vicious and crystal clear. There are 13 counties, from Tunica in the north to Yazoo and Issaquena southward, which forms the bulk of the cotton, soybeans, wheat and rice produced in Mississippi, which are the chief sources of cash. In 1973, Mississippi received over \$821 million from these four crops. Mississippi is the chief producer of cotton in the South, producing more than the next two states combined (Arkansas and Louisiana).

Over 360,000 people reside in these 13 counties. It is an area of solid Black majority. The Black masses constitute 53% to 72% of the total population, depending on the county. *Nine of the counties have over 60% Black population.*

The masses are extremely poor---40 to 66% of the population in these counties are below the federally defined poverty level. *In ten of the counties the poor comprise over 50% of the population!*

Between 18 and 58% of the houses, depending on the county, have no plumbing facilities. In seven of the thirteen counties over 40% of the houses lack plumbing.

And what have imperialism and semi-slavery done to the health of the Black masses in the Delta? Black infant mortality rates, depending on the county, vary from 23 to 81. In 11 of the thirteen counties the rate is over 36. This is over 1½ times the United States rate of 19.8. *The rate in Issaquena county is almost 4 times the United States rate!* However, these numbers can not even begin to express the suffering and torment inflicted on the Black masses by these deaths.

It is easy to guess how many doctors take care of patients in these counties. *Depending on the county, there are 0 to 78 doctors for every 100,000 population.* Needless to say these doctors compete to curry favor amongst the local landed aristocracy, while refusing to care for pregnant Black women in labor and unconscious Black children with skull fractures. As a result, the Black masses and multi-national working class have had to turn to general hospital emergency rooms for any kind of care. In 1971, 64,818 visits for out-patient care were made to Mississippi hospitals for each 100,000 population.

HEALTH AND THE MULTI-NATIONAL WORKING CLASS

These figures are not readily available for the multi-national working class. However, we can get some indication of the health of the working people by looking at figures for whites alone. In these same 13 counties the white minority has an infant mortality rate which varies from 8.1 to 58.8. In 8 of the 13 counties the rate is over 21. This compares with a rate of 18 for Mississippi as a whole, and 19.8 for the entire United States. These rates for white farm laborers, the white sector of the working class and the multinational working class are undoubtedly even higher, if the lower figures for the landed aristocracy, bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are removed.

This exposes the bourgeois, aristocratic and revisionist lies that the problems are ones of race, or skin color. Rather, semi-slavery and imperialism are at the root of the exploitation and oppression of the Black masses, and the multinational working class and white farm laborers in the Black Belt South. The Black masses suffer national exploitation and oppression which accounts for their even greater rates. All three have a common enemy, and a material basis for unity in combatting that enemy.

CITY AND COUNTRY

Imperialism and semi-slavery create large differences between city and country, too. This is the cause of the difference in health care between the city and country in the Black Belt South.

Hinds county contains Mississippi's largest city, Jackson. It is a Black Belt county with over 210,000 population, 39% Black. The Delta counties are overwhelmingly rural. Nine have over 60% rural population, as compared to 16% rural population in Hinds county. There are only 181 doctors treating patients in the whole Delta counties. Thus in Hinds county, there are 225 doctors for each 100,000 population, compared with a maximum of 78 doctors for every 100,000 population in the Delta. The total infant mortality rate (Black and White) for Hinds county is 21.6. Depending on the county, total rate for the 13 Delta counties varies from 25 to 71.4. *Ten of the thirteen counties have a rate over thirty--almost 1½ times the city rate.*

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION ARE THE ANSWERS

The masses of the Black Belt suffer severe class and national oppression and exploitation. This results in poverty, dilapidated housing, and poor health. The rural masses are forced to live under particularly primitive conditions relative to the cities. The cause is the superimposed systems of imperialism and semi-slavery.

The fight for freedom occurs on two fronts. The masses will continue to fight for complete democratic rights, including self-determination up to and including secession for the Black Nation. The fight for equal, quality health care is one aspect of this struggle for democratic rights.

The second front is the fight for socialist revolution. Health care can only fundamentally change when we consciously pull out the root of imperialism and semi-slavery. In our present era this can only be accomplished with the seizure of state power by the working class. This is part of the aim of socialist revolution.

In order to link these two fronts and give conscious Marxist-Leninist guidance to the working class and national struggles, our central task remains the reconstitution of a genuine vanguard communist party. Today, this is the key link in this work.



THE STRUGGLE OF CHICAGO'S LATINO COMMUNITY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Over the Christmas-New Year holiday, 26 Latinos died in the city of Chicago as a result of U.S. imperialism. That sounds odd doesn't it?

Usually when people think of U.S. imperialism they think of Latin America or Vietnam. The truth is that U.S. imperialism thrives also in the streets of Chicago, and that 26 Latinos were burned to death by U.S. imperialism as certainly as if they were Vietnamese villagers, victims of a napalm attack. The truth is that U.S. imperialism enriches itself off such murder and that the "good fathers" of Chicago share in the loot.

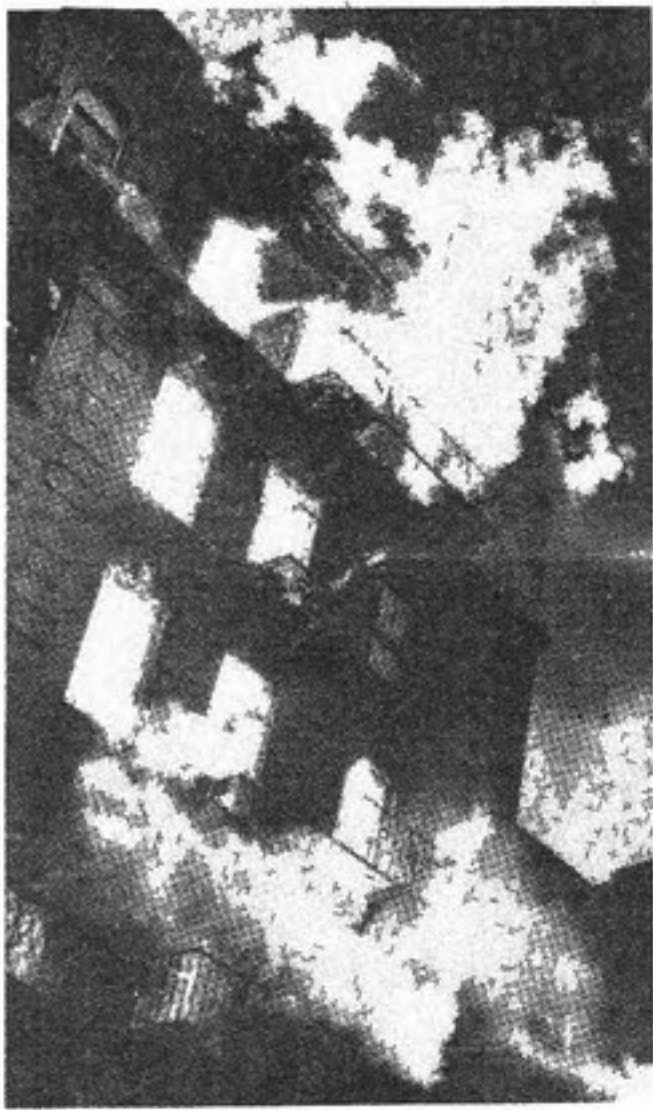
What actually happened over the holiday weekend? Was it an isolated happening or is it the tip of a much bigger iceberg?

On Christmas eve a fire broke out in a tenement building in the Pilsen barrio of Chicago's Westside. Twelve Mexicanos died in that fire both because of the broken down building in which they lived and because there were no Spanish-speaking firemen to assist in the rescue operation.

The second fire occurred on the Northwest side. It started a little after midnight on New Year's Day and raged for four hours. Nine Puerto Ricans burned to death, including four small children. At least ten children were dropped from windows in an effort to save them. Again a tenement, again no Spanish-speaking firemen.

The last fire occurred on New Year's Day. This one took the lives of Miguel Cisneros' wife and three children plus the life of one other unidentified person. It left Miguel Cisneros burned and in grief over the loss of his family. Once more, a tenement and once more, no Spanish speaking firemen.

The causes of the loss of life are clear: 1. broken-down, over-crowded tenement housing and, 2. lack of Spanish-speaking rescue personnel. However these are not just rare exceptions, nor do they end with the deaths of 26 Latinos.



JOB DISCRIMINATION

At present, the city of Chicago has eleven "Spanish-surname" people employed on the Chicago Fire Department: eight firefighters, one paramedic, one lieutenant and a captain. The captain (who is half-Irish) speaks no Spanish, neither does the lieutenant, nor three of the firefighters. The city discriminates against Latinos so grossly that there are fewer than 1% Latinos on the city payroll. Presently, Chicago is fighting a job discrimination suit. In January of 1974, the city signed a federal court consent decree which stated that because it hired 152 White firemen in Dec., 1973, it would hire 152 Blacks and Latinos by June 1974. But the city has not hired anybody since Dec.,

1973. City attorneys came into court last Nov. telling Federal Judge Thomas McMillen the city wanted to hire 150 firefighters, but "the percentage of minority applicants was only 42%." However 570 Latinos passed the written test and over 480 showed up for the "physical," a "physical" which included not only a physical exam, but also a test of ability to use fire equipment. Such a "physical" is simply meant to keep people out, not to recruit good potential recruits. Even so, 104 Latinos did make the final list. Some simple arithmetic shows that 104 is 76% of 150, not 42%. Anyway it is cut, it comes out discrimination. It also spells out the need to organize against such discrimination towards national minorities.

The unemployment rate in Chicago for Mexicano and Puerto Rican workers is presently 25-30% while in the city as a whole it is 14%. Unemployment and discrimination are not new things for U.S. imperialism. Unemployment became a permanent feature of capitalism with the coming of the General Crisis of Capitalism. It is a general crisis because its characteristic features are permanent—not temporary. Mass unemployment is only one of these features.

The shortage of jobs, housing and decent schools in the U.S. affects all workers. The capitalists who cause these shortages turn the finger on national minority workers and women as the cause, they promote systems of discrimination in hiring and housing to keep the working class divided and to squeeze super-profits from the labor of national minorities and women workers.

Job discrimination was not the only cause of what happened in the Mexicano and Puerto Rican neighborhoods: the housing situation was the other.

The actual living conditions of the people in these neighborhoods leave no doubt as to this.

It is estimated that over 80% of the buildings in the Pilsen area east of Ashland St. are in violation of the city building code (a building code with some of the lowest standards in the country).

In the early 60's one of the original Mexicano settlement areas of Chicago, Hull House, underwent "urban renewal." The outcome of this was that over half of the displaced Mexicanos moved south to the Pilsen area. Since that time code enforcement by the city building inspectors has become more and more scarce. For the last several years there has been no code enforcement at all.

The city government, the banks and the absentee landlords (very often the same people) have caused these miserable conditions. The city government has, for years now, refused to issue home improvement permits in the Pilsen area. The banks have "red-lined" the neighborhood, that is, they refuse to grant home improvement loans or mortgages in the area. On top of this, over 50% of the buildings are owned by absentee landlords. These absentee landlords have only one interest: to squeeze as much profit out of their tenants as possible without putting in one cent toward the upkeep of the buildings. Tenants of these slumlords often complain that not even a broken window gets fixed by them. Either the tenant fixes it himself or goes cold.

The cause of this urban housing problem is to be found in the capitalist system itself. The capitalist system is not interested in any project which does not "turn a buck" for it. The lower the cost of maintaining the workforce, the less the capitalist has to pay out in wages. Capitalism produces housing only for those who are capable of paying

for it, and pay they do. The only time that this system sticks its nose into the decaying urban slums is when the possibility of making a profit exists.

The downtown Chicago area has been in a steady state of decay for years. Higher and middle-income residents have been fleeing to the outlying areas, hoping to escape the decay. The inner-city has been left to those least able to escape, the low income Mexicanos, Blacks and Puerto Ricans. As this has happened, the banking and commercial interests that control this area have become alarmed. Their tax base and customers have declined. This has led them to set up the "Chicago 21 Plan." According to this plan the residential areas surrounding downtown have been scheduled for "urban renewal" to the outlying areas. Neighborhoods like Pilsen and the Northwest are to become showplace neighborhoods for the managers of the downtown stores and banks. The plans, of course, call for "retaining the ethnic flavor of the neighborhood" which for Pilsen means Mexican "Taco-Bell" architecture, Mexican music, but no Mexican residents.

The city has even issued plans for building boat moorings along the river and canal which border the neighborhood for the leisure boats of the "elite." Up to this day, they have still to make any concrete proposals as to what is supposed to happen to the residents of Pilsen.

The people of Pilsen and the



other minority neighborhoods have waged a long battle against housing and job discrimination, against the downtown financial and commercial capitalists of Chicago, against a city government which listens only to those with money. But this struggle is not isolated to one or two neighborhoods or even to all of Chicago. It is a struggle against the very system which oppresses and exploits millions throughout the world. This struggle, in order to achieve even very limited goals, must be directed against the system of brutality and injustice that is IMPERIALISM!

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

The unexpected proposal by lame-duck President Ford to make Puerto Rico the 51st state, created a stir of opposition and found almost no support in Puerto Rico or in the U.S. What motivated Ford to call for statehood without consulting even the pro-statehood governor of Puerto Rico? Ford's concern is prompted by the instability in Puerto Rico, where unemployment and inflation are even higher than in the U.S., and where the strike movement and the independent labor movement (independent of the AFL-CIO) are growing progressively stronger. Ford's proposal was also motivated by concern over increased Cuban-Soviet activity in the Caribbean area and in Puerto Rico in particular. The whole situation is a serious threat to U.S. imperialist investments and exclusive domination of the Puerto Rican market and labor.

Ford, of course, is certainly not alone in his concern for the profit extracted from Puerto Rico. Some of the loudest critics of Ford's plan, in fact, support the continued, even strengthened interference of U.S. imperialism in the political and economic affairs of Puerto Rico. Former Governor Hernandez Colon, the best example, strongly supported a proposal last year for a "Compact of Permanent Union" between the U.S. and the "Free Associated State" (or commonwealth) of Puerto Rico, a plan which would permanently ratify the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

There are important differences between statehood and "commonwealth," but the main thing is their similarity: they are both measures in the interest of the imperialist bourgeoisie, intended to suppress the independence movement and to preserve U.S. imperialism's exclusive sphere of influence. For the working class, in the U.S. or in Puerto Rico this much is clear — annexation by another name is still annexation.

Statehood has almost no support in Puerto Rico, as Ford's

blunder has clearly shown. Even the so-called statehood party, the New Progressive Party of Governor Romero Barcelo, removed the slogan of statehood from its party program. The Puerto Rican masses view statehood, Barcelo admits, as "something by the rich for the rich".

Statehood would legitimize the presence of the entire repressive apparatus of the U.S. state, the best assurance the capitalist class has of preserving its investments and profits in the face of a rising independence movement. The "commonwealth" government, too, has worked hand in glove with the FBI, CIA, the military and the federal courts, but the legitimacy of these actions has been challenged by the struggle of the working masses of Puerto Rico.

The stir raised by lame-duck Ford, has caused an uproar in Puerto Rico, and in the U.S. has raised the question of the status of Puerto Rico to a serious level. The fact of the matter is beyond dispute — Puerto Rico is a colony of U.S. imperialism, exploited by monopoly capital and viciously repressed by the State.

The people of Puerto Rico had struggled for their independence even before Puerto Rico was annexed by the U.S. in 1898. They have twice risen in open rebellion against imperialist oppression, and the working masses continue to lead the struggle for the national liberation of Puerto Rico. Freedom and independence is a deep aspiration and a right of the Puerto Rican people. The stand of the working class toward Puerto Rico is clear. Their struggle for independence weakens imperialism; it is a struggle which we must support through aid to the national liberation movement and by our own revolutionary actions. That is the meaning of proletarian internationalism. We must unite with the toiling masses of Puerto Rico in a common revolutionary front against our common enemy, imperialism.

NO STATEHOOD, NO COMMONWEALTH
INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

**Another brother gone.
And another. And another.**

One hundred thousand coal miners
killed on the job since 1900.
One hundred thousand men, each one
special to his family and friends
and union brothers.
Each one with a lot of living
ahead of him. Gone.

Millions—literally millions—
injured and disabled. Left to
sit on their porches
or lie in their sick-beds,
discarded like slag by an industry
that could no longer use them.

Millions more whose
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until they could not breathe.
Death crept up slowly on them,
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all that was left was the dying.

Coal miner after coal miner sacrificed
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Enough.



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